The Dialect of Egton in North Yorkshire

Hans Tidholm

THE DIALECT OF EGTON IN NORTH YORKSHIRE

by

Hans Tidholm

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University of Göteborg 1979 H.T.

To

A.L.T.

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ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND CONVENTIONS

Abbreviations not given in the Bibliography

a.	adjective
a-	a lengthened in open syllables
adv.	adverb
AN	Anglo Norman
Angl	Anglian
Anm.	Anmerkung 'Note'
/C/	any consonant phoneme
cf.	confer 'compare'
comp.	comparative
conj.	conjunction
def. art.	definite article
dem. pron.	demonstrative pronoun
e	early
e-	e lengthened in open syllables
ed.	edited, editor, edition
eds	editors
e.g.	exempli gratia 'for example'
el.	element
eME	early Middle English
eModE	early Modern English
eNME	early Northern Middle English
eON	early Old Norse
eStE	early Standard English
f.n.	field name
Gmc	Germanic
indef. art.	indefinite article
inf.	infinitive
It	Italian
JS	informant's initials
l	late
Lat	Latin
lME	late Middle English
lNME	late Northern Middle English
M	Mid (age-group)
ME	Middle English
ModE	Modern English
MS	manuscript
n.	noun
Nhb	Northumbrian
NME	Northern Middle English
no.	number

num	numeral
O	Old (age-group)
o-	o lengthened in open syllables
OE	Old English
OF	Old French
ON	Old Norse
p(p.)	page(s)
pers. pron.	personal pronoun
pl.	plural
pl.n.	place-name
poss. pron.	possessive pronoun
p.p.	past participle
prep.	preposition
pret.	preterite
PrOE	Primitive Old English
pron.	pronoun
PrON	Primitive Old Norse
pr.p.	present participle
rel. pron.	relative pronoun
Rev.	Reverend
RP	Received Pronunciation
sb.	substantive
Shb	Southumbrian
StE	Standard English
sup.	superlative
TS	informant's initials
TV	informant's initials
u-	u lengthened in open syllables
v.	verb
/V/	any vowel phoneme
WGmc	West Germanic
WS	West Saxon
Y	Young (age-group)

Symbols

/ /	enclose a phonemic transcription
[ ]	enclose a phonetic transcription
/C-/	initial consonant phoneme(s), e.g. /h-/
[C-]	initial consonant, e.g. [h-]
/-C-/	medial consonant phoneme(s), e.g. /-d-/
/-VC-/	medial vowel phoneme + medial consonant phoneme, e.g. /-or-/
/-C/	final consonant phoneme(s), e.g. /-r/
/-(C)VC/	final (consonant phoneme +) vowel phoneme + consonant phoneme(s), e.g. /-(l)in/

/ˈ/	primary stress
/ˌ/	secondary stress
~	phonemic or phonetic alternation
*	before a word indicates a reconstructed, hypothetical form
*	after an Egton form denotes that this form will probably exist for several generations in spite of RP/StE influence
Ø	zero form
⩾	becomes; changed to
⩽	descended from; changed from
+	followed by
:	between forms denotes contrast
x	after a number denotes times
|	in phonetic transcription (Appendix) marks off a breath-group
...	ellipsis, which, as far as the phonetic transcriptions in the Appendix are concerned, is due to the difficulty of interpreting certain passages of the tape-recorded material
´	above an ON letter denotes length, e.g. á
¯	above an OE or OF or ME letter denotes length, e.g. ā
˘	above an OE or OF or ME letter indicates brevity, e.g. ă

Conventions

1. Historical forms, dialectal words not found, or marked as Northern or Scotch in OED, field names, place-names, and place-(field-)name elements have been underlined. All other forms cited as examples or as subjects of discussion have been underlined only if they are part of the text. The dialectal words are followed by a translation into StE within single quotation marks except in the Appendix, which also applies to words that require special explanation, and phonemically and phonetically transcribed forms.

2. The phonetic notation is that of the IPA chart revised to 1947 with the following additions. [̩], which denotes a specially close vowel, also indicates retroflexion of [ɹ]: [ɻ̩]. [̝] is used instead of IPA [̞] to indicate a specially open vowel, e.g. [ɒː]. A raised phonetic symbol denotes a slight glide, e.g. [mɒ·ᵊ] 'moor'.

3. For RP phonemes such as /əʊ/ and /ʌ/, not found in Egton but exerting influence on the dialect, see Gimson (1973, Chapter 7).

THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET.

(Revised to 1947.)

		Bi-labial	*Labio-dental*	*Dental and Alveolar*	*Retroflex*	*Palato-alveolar*	*Alveolo-palatal*	*Palatal*	*Velar*	*Uvular*	*Pharyngal*	*Glottal*
CONSONANTS	*Plosive*	p b		t d	ʈ ɖ			c ɟ	k g	q ɢ		ʔ
	Nasal	m	ɱ	n	ɳ			ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
	Lateral Fricative			ɬ ɮ								
	Lateral Non-fricative			l	ɭ			ʎ				
	Rolled			r						ʀ		
	Flapped			ɾ	ɽ					ʀ̆		
	Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð | s z | ɹ	ʂ ʐ	ʃ ʒ	ɕ ʑ	ç j	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
	Frictionless Continuants and Semi-vowels	w ɥ	ʋ	ɹ				j (ɥ)	(w)	ʁ		

		Front	*Central*	*Back*
VOWELS	*Close*	(y ʉ u)	i ɨ	ɯ u
	Half-close	(ø o)	e ø	ɤ o
			ə	
	Half-open	(œ ɔ)	ɛ œ	ʌ ɔ
			æ ɐ	
	Open	(ɒ)	a	ɑ ɒ

(Secondary articulations are shown by symbols in brackets.)

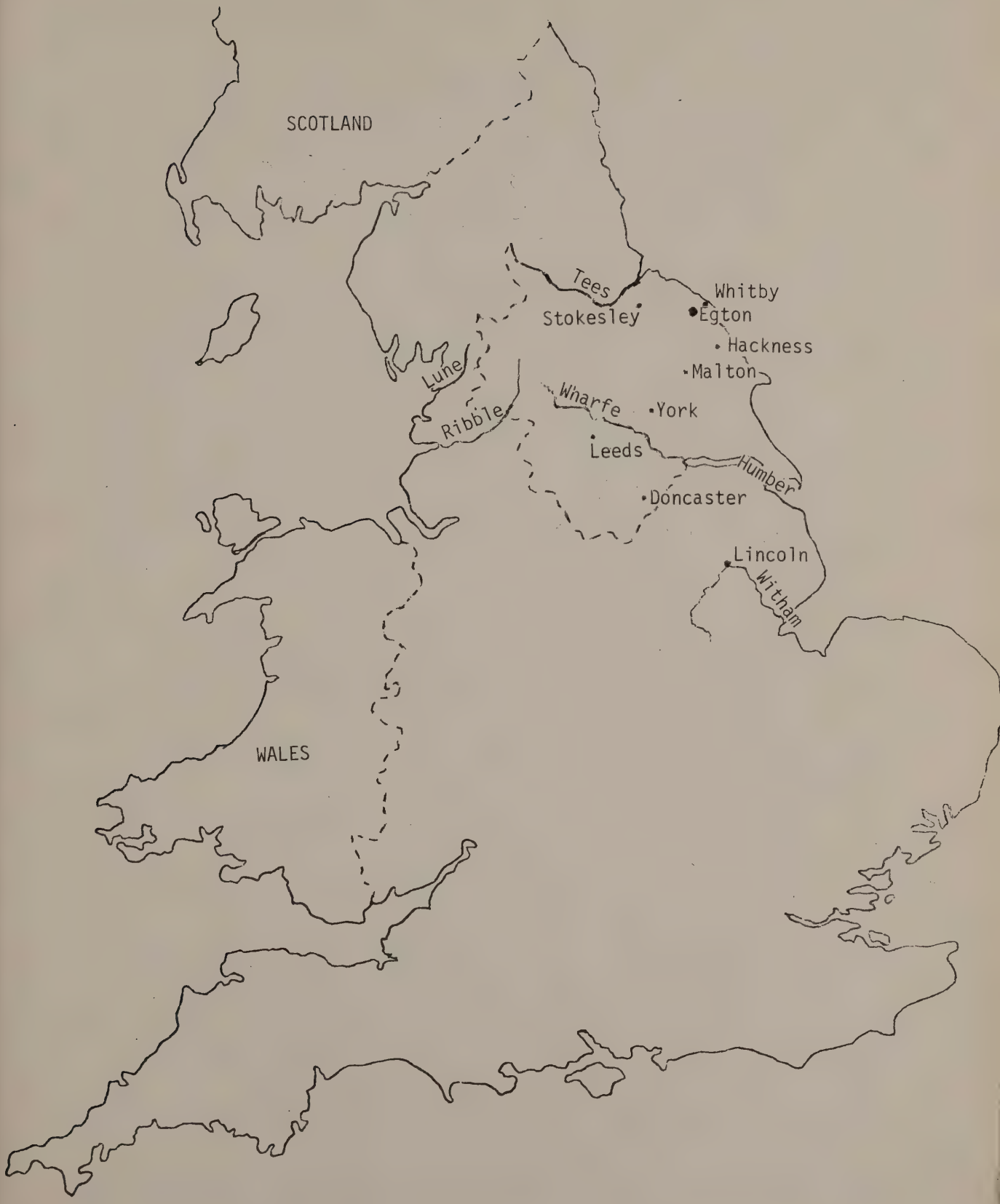
OTHER SOUNDS.—Palatalized consonants: ʲt, ʲd, etc.; palatalized ʃ, ʒ: ʃʲ, ʒʲ. Velarized or pharyngalized consonants: ɬ, đ, z, etc. Ejective consonants (with simultaneous glottal stop): p', t', etc. Implosive voiced consonants: ɓ, ɗ, etc. ɾ fricative trill. σ, ʂ (labialized θ, ð, or s, z). ʧ, ʤ (labialized ʃ, ʒ). ʇ, ʗ, ʖ (clicks, Zulu *c*, *q*, *x*). ɻ (a sound between r and l). ɳ Japanese syllabic nasal. ʃ͡x (combination of x and ʃ). ʍ (voiceless w). ɪ, ʏ, ʊ (lowered varieties of i, y, u). ɜ (a variety of ə). ɵ (a vowel between ø and o).

Affricates are normally represented by groups of two consonants (ts, tʃ, dʒ, etc.), but, when necessary, ligatures are used (ʦ, ʧ, ʤ, etc.), or the marks ‿ or ⁀ (t͡s or t‿s, etc.). ‿ ⁀ also denote synchronic articulation (m͡ŋ = simultaneous m and ŋ). c, ɟ may occasionally be used in place of tʃ, dʒ, and ʧ, ʤ for ts, dz. Aspirated plosives: ph, th, etc. r-coloured vowels: eɹ, aɹ, ɔɹ, etc., or eˠ, aˠ, ɔˠ, etc., or e˞, a˞, ɚ, etc.; r-coloured ə: əɹ or əˠ or ɹ or ə˞.

LENGTH, STRESS, PITCH.— : (full length). ˑ (half length). ˈ (stress, placed at beginning of the stressed syllable). ˌ (secondary stress). ˉ (high level pitch); ˍ (low level); ˊ (high rising); ˎ (low rising); ˋ (high falling); ˏ (low falling); ˆ (rise-fall); ˇ (fall-rise).

MODIFIERS.— ̃ nasality. ̥ breath (l̥ = breathed l). ̬ voice (s̬ = z). ʻ slight aspiration following p, t, etc. ̫ labialization (n̫ = labialized n). ̪ dental articulation (t̪ = dental t). ̡ palatalization (ż = ʒ). ̩ specially close vowel (e̩ = a very close e) ̞ specially open vowel (e̞ = a rather open e). ̝ tongue raised (e̝ or e̞ = e̩). ̞ tongue lowered (e̞ or e̞ = e̩). ̟ tongue advanced (u̟ or u̟ = an advanced u, t̟ = t̪). ̠ or ̱ tongue retracted (i̠ or i̱ = ɨ̟, t̠ = alveolar t). ˃ lips more rounded. ˂ lips more spread. Central vowels: ÿ (= ɨ), ü (= ʉ), ë (= ə̝), ö (= ɵ), ë, ö. ̯ (e.g. n̯) syllabic consonant. ̑ consonantal vowel. ʃˢ variety of ʃ resembling s, etc.

MAP OF ENGLAND



1. EGTON PARISH

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1.1. Position. Topography. Communications.

The parish of Egton, which once belonged to Langbargh Wapentake (Smith 1969, p. 128), lies in the north-east corner of North Yorkshire County. It is a scattered parish in the North York Moors National Park. The majority of its inhabitants live in the villages of Egton and Egton Bridge (see Map p. xi).

Egton village, about 5-600 feet above sea-level, is situated on the slope of a hill with a beautiful view of the Esk valley about 7 miles to the west from the town of Whitby. It consists mainly of two streets with terraced houses of stone. The best roads radiate from this village connecting the parish with Teesside in the north-west, Whitby in the east, and Pickering and York in the south. There is a bus service to Middlesbrough and Scarborough via Whitby.

Egton Bridge, 1 mile south-west of Egton village and about 300 feet above sea-level, is a small hamlet and station on the railway between Middlesbrough and Whitby. It is divided by the river Esk, which winds its way through the beautiful valley.

Over half of the parish (about 10,000 acres) consists of moorland without any habitation. The moors lie mostly more than 700 feet above sea-level, rising in places to over 1,000 feet.

1.2. Climate. Geology. Vegetation.[1]

Egton parish lies on the drier eastern side of Britain. The annual rainfall is below 25 inches. The mean January temperatures are less than 5^{o} C., while the mean July temperatures are below 16^{o} C. It is often hazy.

The dominant rocks of the Egton region are grits, sandstones, and shales.

The higher parts of the parish are occupied by moors and rough hill pastures. The surface vegetation is here dominated by heather. In the valleys

[1]Sources: Darby & Maxwell 1962, p. 161; Dudley Stamp & Beaver 1956, p. 249; Wooldridge 1945, pp. 375, 377, 382

there are considerable areas of pasture (about 4,500 acres). A smaller part of the parish (about 1,500 acres) is occupied by woods.

1.3. History

A bronze dagger of Cypriote design, a hammer head, and jet ornaments from the Bronze and Iron Ages have been found in Egton parish (The Victoria History of the County of York I 1907, p. 409; Whitby Museum). The site of a Roman camp and a portion of a Roman road originally stretching from near Whitby to Malton and Stamford Bridge, and clearly traceable in the southern part of the parish, remind us of the Roman period in Egton history (Wooldridge 1945, p. 384).

In the 5th century the Angles made their way up the northern tributaries of the Humber, and founded the kingdom of Deira between the Tees and the Humber. The Yorkshire Moors were left untouched at first, and a British enclave seems to have existed there for some time. About 600 Deira and the northernmost English kingdom of Bernicia united into Northumbria (Jackson 1953, pp. 211-13). In 875 a part of the Danish army under Healfdene marched into Yorkshire. In the next year "Healfdene Norðan hymbra land ge dælde." according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Laud MS). The Danish settlement was confined to the most fertile parts of the county, including the central and southern parts of the North Riding[3]. In the early 10th century a new Scandinavian invasion began, this time of Norwegians from Ireland. They entered Yorkshire from Lancashire and Westmoreland, but there seem to have been Norwegian raids for the purpose of permanent occupation from the North Sea, too. In the North Riding of Yorkshire the Norwegians settled chiefly in the north (Smith 1969, pp. XXI, XXIX). A few Egton[1] place-names containing *gill* 'valley', which is a Norwegian test-word (Ekwall 1972, p. 139), may indicate that the settlers of the Egton area were Norwegians.

In pre-Conquest times, according to Domesday Book, the manor of *Egetune* (= *Egton* 'Ecga's farm', Smith 1969, p. 129) was in the hands of Suuen, who was probably a Scandinavian. [2]After the Conquest it was granted to the Count

[1]If not otherwise stated Egton refers to the parish.
[2]The data of the rest of this section have been mainly extracted from the following sources: Darby & Maxwell 1962, p. 144; von Feilitzen 1937, p.380; Hartley-Ingilby 1972, pp. 25, 38-9, 129; Ord 1846, p. 318; The Post Office Directory 1879, pp. 139-40; The Victoria History of the County of York III 1913, pp. 343-8; Whitby Naturalists' Club 1944-45, pp. 32-3
[3]The recent re-organization of the division of several English counties has been disregarded.

of Mortain and by him sub-granted to one Nigel. It was waste in 1086. In the Middle Ages the Mauley family were proprietors for several generations. Then the estate passed through the hands of various people. In 1869 it was purchased by the Fosters, who are still lords of the manor.

The old church, consecrated to St Hilda in 1349, was pulled down in 1878, and the present one was built in a mixed Gothic and Norman style on a site nearer Egton village in 1879. The parish register dates from 1617. There is also a church, a Catholic chapel, at Egton Bridge. It was built in 1867. The old Catholic chapel dating from 1797 is now a school-house for Catholic children. The non-catholic children go to the Egton village school, founded in 1874. The total number of Egton pupils of the two schools amounts to 50. Since 1953 the 11+ children go to the comprehensive schools at Whitby.

Fairs for the sale of horses, cattle, and sheep used to be held on certain Tuesdays throughout the year at Egton. The present annual show, started in 1889, has developed from these fairs. The Gooseberry Show, an annual contest for the heaviest gooseberries, first recorded in 1843, is still run at Egton Bridge.

Farming has always been the main occupation in Egton. In the past the tenant-farmers on the small farms did not make much money. Barter was common, and little money circulated. Oats provided fodder for horses and cattle. Barley was grown for pigs, and a few acres of potatoes, turnips, and cabbages supplied vegetables for man and beast. Wheat was grown to a less extent. The gradual introduction of machinery has reduced the number of people occupied in farming. The once small farms have been amalgamated into big ones. Now oats occupy three quarters of the cereal acreage. There is a great number of cows in milk and sheep.

The once thriving craftsmanship is all gone. Most Egton people, not employed in farming, now go to the Teesside industries. In recent years weekenders have bought several cottages, and in the summer months the four inns cater for the numerous tourists.

1.4. Population

Table 1 shows that there has been a marked decrease in population since 1891.[1] The peak in the last quarter of the 19th century is probably due to

[1]The statistics of this section were supplied by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, Titchfield, Fareham, Hampshire.

Table 1. Population of Egton Civil Parish, 1801-1971

Year	Population	Year	Population	Year	Population	Year	Population
1801	971	1851	1129	1901	1020	1951	796
1811	1026	1861	1115	1911	1026	1961	674
1821	1037	1871	1330	1921	993	1971	616
1831	1071	1881	1266	1931	920		
1841	1128	1891	1329	1941	- -		

the influx of miners to the ironstone mines of the neighbouring village of Grosmont outside Egton parish. According to TV, my oldest informant (3.2), the cottages in the so-called Barton Row in the village of Egton were built about a hundred years ago and probably accommodated a large number of miners and their families. Several mines were closed at the end of the 19th century, and the miners left the parish.

Since 1971 a further decline in population has probably taken place. In the last few years a large number of houses have been sold to people from outside, who have converted several of them into week-end cottages. Owing to the position of Egton in North York Moors National Park the building of new houses seems to be extremely restricted. TV (3.2) estimates that, in 1975, at least half the Egton population consisted of new-comers.

Table 2. Percentage of persons in different age-groups in Egton Civil Parish, as reported in 1971 Census

Age-groups	0-14	15-29	30-44	45-59	60-74	75-	
Persons	153	102	107	124	100	30	= 616
%	24.8	16.6	17.4	20.1	16.2	4.9	= 100

As appears from the 1971 Census persons aged 0-14 constitute 1/4 of the Egton population (Table 2). There is also a relatively large percentage of persons in the 45-59 age-group.

2. THE DIALECTAL BACKGROUND

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2.1. Dialect Boundaries

The Anglian dialects of Old English are Northumbrian and Mercian (Campbell 1971, §6), corresponding in Middle English and Modern English to the Northern and Midland dialects (Brunner I 1960, pp. 170, 183-4). Egton, in the eastern part of the North Riding of Yorkshire, lies in the Northern dialect area, which is evidenced by the investigations below.

Moore, Meech, and Whitehall (1935, pp. 8, 33), who investigated early 15th century documents and literary texts, found that one line (A) in particular constitutes the ME Northern/Midland boundary. This line A represents the southern limit of OE ā retained as an unrounded vowel. It runs from the mouth of the Humber westward through the West Riding of Yorkshire to the mouth of the Lune in Lancashire.

Kristensson (1967, pp. 36, 283), who examined early 14th century placenames and surnames drawn mainly from the Lay Subsidy Rolls, says that the early 14th century ā/ō-isophone ran approximately along the Witham in Lincolnshire to Lincoln, then northwards to Blaxton (near Doncaster), from where it continued in a north-westerly direction to the mouth of the Ribble in Lancashire, i.e. somewhat to the south of the above-mentioned line A. This more southerly isophone is due to the fact that Kristensson based his investigation on earlier material.

In order to establish the boundary between the Northern/North Midland dialects in Yorkshire, Rohrer (1950, pp. 29-37) visited 74 villages mostly in the West Riding and the southern part of the East Riding. More than a hundred old people were asked the 83 questions that made up his questionnaire. His investigation, which took place in 1950, shows that the boundary between the Northern and North Midland dialects in Yorkshire runs roughly along the Wharfe. The words below (Table 3) illustrate the two dialects.

Rohrer's results were confirmed by Dieth's and Orton's Survey of English Dialects (SED, 1962-). The field work was carried out between 1948 and 1961 with the help of a questionnaire containing over 1300 questions. The inform-

Table 3. Words illustrating the North Midland and Northern dialects

Word	Etymology	Dialect		Traditional Egton	Chapter
		North Midland	Northern		
foal	eME ŏ	[fɒɪl]	[foəl]	[foəl]	5.63.1
eat	eME ĕ	[ɛɪt]	[ɪət]	[mɪət] meat	5.54.3
cow	ME ū	[kaɒ]	[ku:]	[ku:]	5.71.1
bone	OE ā	[bɒən]	[bɪən]	[stɪən] stone	5.58.1
spoon	ME ō	[spɒɪn]	[spɪən]	[spɪən]	5.67.1

-ants of the 311 localities investigated were mostly men over sixty, often farmers and farm-workers. The original publication program has not yet been accomplished (cf. Wakelin 1972, pp. 51-8, 103).

About a hundred unpublished 16th and 17th century wills and inventories[1] from the parish of Egton belonging to the Archdeaconry of Cleveland have been investigated in order to try to find traces of Northern characteristics. After about 1450, however, the written form of Northern documents became less representative of the spoken Northern form and approximated more and more to that of the London dialect, which had come to be accepted as Standard Written English (Moore 1969, §113). Northern features are therefore of rare occurrence, but the a-spelling of saull 'soul' is the Northern pronunciation of an unrounded front vowel (cf. 5.82.4. Note), and -es is the Northern ending of the 1st person singular present indicative when the subject does not immediately precede or follow the verb (cf. 8.22).

2.2. Glossaries. Poems. Stories.

Several glossaries, poems, and stories were published in the past for north-east Yorkshire. The compilers and writers of these books tried to indicate the pronunciation by using a modified spelling, which, however, is often ambiguous (cf. Klein 1914, Chapter 7, §1).

G. Meriton's A York-shire Dialogue in its pure Natural Dialect as it is now commonly spoken in the North parts of Yorkeshire (1684) "is a famous piece of considerable value for its antiquity and general accuracy. It is the oldest good specimen of a modern English dialect that has come down to us" according

[1]These local documents, which are held at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, are here called Cleveland Wills (ClW).

to Skeat (1896, p. XIX). Meriton was born at Castle Leavington in the north-eastern part of the North Riding of Yorkshire. His dialect is associated with Northallerton in North Yorkshire where he spent several years as an attorney (Handke 1912, pp. 27-8). An example of the ambiguity of Meriton's orthography is his representation of the development of ME ou and ME ū by ow. These ME sounds, which had no connection in their further development, became [aʊ] and [u:] respectively in Egton (cf. 5.83-85; 5.70-73) as well as in the Northallerton area (Orton & Halliday, 1962-3). Meriton's ow thus stands for both [u:] (< ME ū) and probably [ɔʊ] (< ME ou), which then developed into [aʊ].

Besides giving a list of provincialisms Marshall (1788, pp. 303-66) describes the 18th century pronunciation of several East Yorkshire sounds. He mentions (p. 310) that "i long" before l has become "a broad (as in father, half, and before the letter r); as, mile, maal; stile, staal;" (cf. 5.41). He also indicates (p. 310) that i in words like white and write is pronounced "e short lengthened by the y consonant", which probably means [ɛɪ] (cf. 5.41). Ou and ow (p. 312) in words like our and flower are pronounced [u:] without any off-glide before r (cf. 5.73).

York Minster Screen. Being a specimen of the Yorkshire Dialect as spoken in the North Riding was printed at Malton in 1833. The authorship of this poem is attributed to George Newton Brown, who, at the time of writing it, lived at Nunnington, some ten miles west of Malton in North Yorkshire (Skeat 1896, pp. vii-viii).

J. Castillo's Poems in the North Yorkshire Dialect (1878) and Mrs G. M. Tweddell's Rhymes and Sketches to illustrate the Cleveland Dialect (1892) also belong here. They form the basis of Klein's (1914) investigation of the dialect of Stokesley (2.4).

In the latter half of the 19th century Atkinson (1868), Robinson (1876), and Morris (2nd ed. 1911) compiled their glossaries for north-east Yorkshire. Another dictionary of North Riding dialect words was compiled in 1928 by Pease.

A good deal of the lexical material of the books mentioned in this section was used by J. Wright in his English Dialect Dictionary (1896-1905).

2.3. Ellis

Alexander Ellis's work On Early English Pronunciation was completed in 1889 by the publication of Part V, The Existing Phonology of English Dialects,

a survey of all the English dialects of the British Isles. In Ellis's classification Egton belongs to Variety iia (South Cleveland) of District 30 (East Northern = the greater part of the North Riding of Yorkshire, all the East Riding, and a small portion of the West Riding) (p. 496). Ellis's chief authority for District 30 was C. Clough Robinson (p. 4), who answers for the greater part of Ellis's Comparative Specimen (pp. 502-13). 200 words of Ellis's Classified Word List (971 words) were palæotyped, i.e. phonetically transcribed, conjecturally for Variety iia by Ellis himself from a wordlist written by Rev. J. C. Atkinson of Danby, the author of A Glossary of the Cleveland Dialect (pp. 527-8).

As regards the character of the dialect of District 30 Ellis says that "it is surprising what small varieties exist" (pp. 496-7). The chief characteristic is the development of OE ā, a- (= NME /a:/, 5.56-61), ǣ, ēa, e- (= NME /ɛ:/, 5.51-55), and ō (= NME /y:/, 5.65-69) into [ɛ̝·ə][1] and [ɪ·ə]. [ɛ̝·ə] is more used in the south, [ɪ·ə] in the north, to which Egton belongs. OE ī (= NME /i:/, 5.40-46) has become [a:] before voiced consonants, but [aɪ] also occurs. Before voiceless consonants [ɐɪ] or "possibly" [ɛɪ] is used. OE ū (= NME /u:/, 5.70-73) remains as [u:]. The definite article is usually reduced to the suspended [t] (8.2.2). A further characteristic is the universal use of I is for I am (8.22.1). All these characteristic features can still be found in Egton.

2.4. Dialect Monographs

Wright (1892) was the first to investigate a single Yorkshire (West Riding) dialect. He was followed by Klein (1914) and Cowling (1915), who studied the North Riding dialects of Stokesley and Hackness respectively. Since Egton is in the North Riding of Yorkshire, Klein's and Cowling's monographs will be discussed at some length.

Klein's monograph was based on Rhymes and Sketches to illustrate the Cleveland Dialect (1892) by Mrs George Markham Tweddell and Poems in the North Yorkshire Dialect (1878) by John Castillo. These books were published

[1] Ellis's palæotype has been converted into the equivalent International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA, p. x) on the basis of his explanatory notes (pp. 76*-88*). The transcription systems of other dialectologists to whom references are made have been retained because of their compatibility with the IPA system.

by George Markham Tweddell in his own orthography. To make himself acquainted with the living dialect Klein made a visit to Yorkshire. At Danby, a few miles from Stokesley, he stayed at a farm for some time. He also saw Mrs Tweddell's son, who spoke parts of Rhymes and Sketches to illustrate the Cleveland Dialect and Ellis's Comparative Specimen (2.3) onto discs. In the preface of his monograph Klein says that "Unschätzbar war es mir, die Platten und durch sie die lebendige Dialektrede beständig zur Verfügung zu haben" (p. 6). These recordings were then transcribed phonetically. One chapter of the book relates George M. Tweddell's orthography to the pronunciation of the dialect. In another chapter Klein gives a thorough description of the phonology arranged on a ME basis. A comparison is also made with the neighbouring dialects of Ellis's District 30 and with those of Windhill near Bradford (by J. Wright) and Bowness near Windermere (by J. Sixtus).

The dialect described by Cowling was spoken in the triangular strip between Whitby, Pickering, and Filey. One of Cowling's informants, "John Hill of Goathland, an old gentleman of over 80," (Cowling, p. 90) actually lived in Egton for several years according to TV, my oldest informant (3.2). Like Klein Cowling arranged his material on a ME basis, but he did not treat the English, French, and Scandinavian words together. The second part of the monograph includes a thorough treatment of the morphology of the dialect. A detailed review of the book was written by W. Horn in Englische Studien, Band 57, pp. 276-89.

In Part II of The Phonology of a South Durham Dialect (1933) H. Orton made a comparative study of the Northern dialects that had been separately investigated with the help of occasional spellings from North Country records and the early forms of Northern place-names.

A survey of Northern dialect studies is given by B. Hedevind (§1:19-24) in his Dialect of Dentdale in the West Riding of Yorkshire (1967).

3. THE SAMPLE

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3.1. Sampling

The aim of this thesis was originally to give a description of the 'pure' dialect. On a reconnaissance trip to Egton in 1973 I was advised to see an elderly man who was known as having a broad Yorkshire accent, and who was to become my first informant (TV, 3.2). My original aim was, however, abandoned and I decided to try to obtain informants of different ages for comparison. These were to have been born in Egton or at least in an adjoining parish and to have spent most of their lives in Egton. They were also to be above the age of puberty because the fundamental speech habits are in most cases firmly established by that age (Hockett 1950, p. 449). TV (3.2) supplied me with several names and addresses of possible persons. The final sample of informants who were tape-recorded consists of 15 people divided into three age-groups (cf. 3.2). The aim was to try to obtain 50 tokens[1] from each informant. As there are 5 informants aged 83-69[2] in the Old group, 4 aged 66-50 in the Mid group, and 6 aged 33-15 in the Young group, the total number of tokens in group Old would be 250, in group Mid 200, and in group Young 300. Because of the limited size of the tape-recorded material it has not always been possible to achieve these figures.

Since TV was selected because of his alleged broadness of accent, it might be supposed that this would bias the sample of the Old group towards a more old-fashioned type of speech. This, however, was not the case. TV deviates little from the other informants of the Old group.

In the Mid and Young groups two male informants, JS and TS (3.2), are responsible for most of the traditional tokens. Their broadness of accent is probably due to the fact that they both grew up fairly isolated at the edge of the moors. They deviate thus from the other informants of the same groups, which can lead to the sample being unrepresentative owing to its smallness (see e.g. 5.6, 5.15, 5.23).

[1] i.e. 50 tokens of each category, e.g. 50 tokens having traditional /-(l)in/ and RP /-(l)iŋ/ '-(l)ing'.
[2] The reference to age applies to 1975 when the recordings were completed.

The three female informants of the Mid and Young groups (3.2) have often larger percentages of RP/StE tokens than the males of these groups (see e.g. 5.18, 5.37). My experience of the dialect after yearly visits to Egton since 1973 tells me, however, that, except for the above-mentioned males, the informants are representative of their respective age strata.

The social and linguistic heterogeneity of speech communities applies not only to urban areas but also, to a much less extent, to rural localities such as Egton (cf. Trudgill 1974b, 0.2). This heterogeneity will be much more marked in future Egton because of the great influx of people from outside (cf. 1.4).

Occupation seems to be the most important indicator of social class. Other stratifying factors are income, education, housing, locality, and father's occupation (Trudgill 1974b, 3.4). If we take only occupation, or father's occupation as far as the school-children are concerned, and education into consideration, one man of the Old group (20%), one woman of the Mid group (25%), and two informants of each sex of the Young group (33.3%) may be allotted middle-class status. The other informants belong to the working-classes. No attempt has, however, been made at eliciting linguistic differences between these possible social groups because of the smallness of the sample.

3.2. Informants

Age-group Old

Name: Tom Ventress (TV)
Year of birth: 1892
Birthplace: Loftus (8 miles north-west of Egton village). When he was 10, he came to live with his grandparents in the parish of Goathland, which borders on Egton parish. He moved to Egton at the age of 14.
Schooling: Goathland parish school 10-14, Egton evening classes 14-16.
Employment: Farmer 15-28, then salesman for agricultural implements.
Birthplace of father: Thornton-le-Dale (20 miles south of Egton village).
Birthplace of mother: Grosmont (1 1/2 mile south-east of Egton village).
Father's occupation: Miner, then farmer and inn-keeper
Birthplace of wife: Egton
Note: Specimen of phonetic transcription in the Appendix (p. 160).

Name: Percy Rutland (PR)
Year of birth: 1894
Birthplace: Sleights (5 miles east of Egton village). His parents came to Egton when he was 7 years old.
Schooling: Egton parish school 7-14
Employment: Groom 1908-14, soldier 1914-18, postman 1919-59
Birthplace of parents: Norfolk
Father's occupation: Coachman
Birthplace of wife: Langtoft (40 miles south of Egton village)

Name: Arthur Agar (AA)
Year of birth: 1897
Birthplace: Egton
Schooling: Egton parish school 5-13
Employment: Farmer
Birthplace of parents: Egton
Father's occupation: Farmer
Birthplace of wife: Lythe (7 miles north-east of Egton village)
Note: Specimen of phonetic transcription in the Appendix (p. 162).

Name: John White (JW)
Year of birth: 1900
Birthplace: Egton Bridge
Schooling: Egton Bridge Catholic school 5-14
Employment: Groom and gamekeeper 16-30, then quarryman and roadman
Birthplace of parents: Egton
Father's occupation: Farmer
Birthplace of wife: Egton

Name: George Harland (GH)
Year of birth: 1906
Birthplace: Egton Bridge
Schooling: Egton Bridge Catholic school 5-14
Employment: Gardener, then farmer
Birthplace of father: Sleights (5 miles east of Egton village)
Birthplace of mother: Egton Bridge

Father's occupation: Quarryman, stone-mason
Birthplace of wife: Egton Bridge

Age-group Mid

Name: Ethel Cornforth (EC)
Year of birth: 1909
Birthplace: Egton
Schooling: Egton parish school 5-14
Employment: Postmistress since 1951
Birthplace of father: Pickering (20 miles south of Egton village)
Birthplace of mother: Sneaton (7 miles east of Egton village)
Father's occupation: Monumental stone-mason
Birthplace of husband: Egton

Name: Bill Parker (BP)
Year of birth: 1913
Birthplace: Egton
Schooling: Egton parish school 5-14
Employment: Farm labourer, gardener, then manager of a Loftus shop selling farm stuff
Birthplace of parents: Egton
Father's occupation: Wagoner and farmer
Birthplace of wife: Loftus (8 miles north-west of Egton village)
Note: Specimen of phonetic transcription in the Appendix (p. 165).

Name: Phyllis Pearson (PP)
Year of birth: 1923
Birthplace: Egton
Schooling: Egton parish school 5-14
Employment: Cook
Birthplace of father: Egton
Birthplace of mother: Stape (9 miles south of Egton village)
Father's occupation: Stone-mason

Name: Jack Spenceley (JS)
Year of birth: 1925
Birthplace: Egton Grange

Schooling: Egton parish school 5-14
Employment: Farm labourer, then rodent operative
Birthplace of father: Egton
Birthplace of mother: Whitby (7 miles east of Egton village)
Father's occupation: Stone-mason
Note: His broad accent may be accounted for by the fact that he has lived all his life fairly isolated on the moors. Specimen of phonetic transcription in the Appendix (p. 166).

Age-group Young

Name: Tom Spenceley (TS)
Year of birth: 1942
Birthplace: Beck Hole in the parish of Goathland bordering on Egton parish. His parents came to live in Egton before he was 1 year old.
Schooling: Grosmont school 5-11, Whitby secondary school 11-15
Employment: Gamekeeper
Birthplace of father: Egton Grange
Birthplace of mother: Beck Hole in the parish of Goathland
Father's occupation: Gamekeeper
Birthplace of wife: Hull (60 miles south of Egton village)
Note: His broad accent may be attributed to the fact that he spent his youth fairly isolated at the edge of the moors.

Name: Malcolm Agar (MA)
Year of birth: 1946
Birthplace: Egton
Schooling: Egton parish school 5-11, Whitby secondary school 11-15
Employment: Joiner. He also runs a grocery shop.
Birthplace of father: Egton
Birthplace of mother: Aislaby (4 miles north-east of Egton village)
Father's occupation: Farmer, then watchman
Note: Specimen of phonetic transcription in the Appendix (p. 171).

Name: Christopher Parker (CP)
Year of birth: 1953
Birthplace: Egton
Schooling: Egton parish school 5-11, Whitby secondary school 11-16

Employment: Mechanical fitter
Birthplace of father: Egton
Birthplace of mother: Loftus (8 miles north-west of Egton village)
Father's occupation: Manager of a shop

Name: Carol Clark (CC)
Year of birth: 1957
Birthplace: Egton
Schooling: Egton parish school 5-11, secondary school Whitby 11-15,
Scarborough 15-17
Employment: Bank clerk
Birthplace of father: Rosedale Abbey (8 miles south-west of Egton village)
Birthplace of mother: Castleford (70 miles south-west of Egton village)
Father's occupation: Garage man

Name: John Russell (JR)
Year of birth: 1959
Birthplace: Fryup (5 miles west of Egton village)
Schooling: Egton Bridge Catholic school 5-11, Whitby secondary school 11-
Employment: Pupil
Birthplace of father: Fryup (5 miles west of Egton village)
Birthplace of mother: Scaling (7 miles north-west of Egton village)
Father's occupation: Naval officer

Name: Brian Clark (BC)
Year of birth: 1960
Birthplace: Egton
Schooling: Egton parish school 5-11, Whitby secondary school 11-
Employment: Pupil
Birthplace of father: Rosedale Abbey (8 miles south-west of Egton village)
Birthplace of mother: Castleford (70 miles south-west of Egton village)
Father's occupation: Garage man

3.3. The Interview Situation

Language varies not only according to the social class, age, and sex of the speaker, but also according to the social situation in which he may find

himself (Trudgill 1974a, p. 103). Dialect speakers "modify their own pronunciation in conversation not only with strangers but also with people outside their own intimate circle" so "that their spoken words often occur in three or four different forms" (Orton 1962, pp. 18-19). JS, one of my informants (3.2), told me that he had to "talk a bit finer" when he spoke to people he did not know in order to make himself understood. "People look at you as though you're a foreigner when you start talking in this dialect. They can't follow you." "To make oneself understood" is a phrase which recurred several times with different informants. It may therefore be argued that the tape-recorded material is more biased towards formal speech, and consequently towards RP/StE, than towards casual speech (cf. Trudgill 1974b, 4.7). On the other hand, it may be difficult for a speakér to be "on his guard" as far as his pronunciation is concerned for more than a few minutes, particularly if the interviewer lets him talk about what he likes and does not interrupt him. This is confirmed by JS. "I've talked to a few people well up. I've been talking to them in what I think is good English, and then all of a sudden I forget myself, and I's back onto the dialect. It can sway in a sentence."

Normal casual speech was probably obtained in conversations between JS and TV (3.2), and between JS and a delivery man, which I happened to record by chance. On the whole, however, it may be said that the present material is a mixture of formal and casual speech. This is by no means a disadvantage because it mirrors the actual speech situation in Egton.

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4.1. Introduction

The phonetic account of the dialect consists of a classification and description of the sounds based on material recorded on tape. A selection of the transcribed material will be found in an appendix, to which reference is made in the examples below.

4.2. Phoneme. Variant. Norm Variant. Contrastive Words of Minimal Pairs.

The phoneme is the smallest distinctive unit of a language (Trubetzkoy 1973, pp. 47-73). If two sounds occur in the same position and are not interchangeable without changing the meaning, the two sounds are realizations of different phonemes. If, on the other hand, they are interchangeable without changing the meaning, they are optional variants of a single phoneme. If two phonetically similar sounds never occur in the same environment, they are combinatory variants of the same phoneme. The most frequent variant of a phoneme is called its norm variant. Egton /i/ and /u/ have two norm variants each. One applies to the stressed variant, the other to the unstressed variant of the phoneme (cf. Swadesh 1934, p. 37).

The phonemes were determined on the basis of tape-recorded material and personal experience of the dialect on the spot. To test the correctness of this determination the contrastive words of minimal pairs (Hockett 1964, Chapter 2) were presented to the informants with the question whether they were different words or whether one of them was simply a repetition of the other.

4.3-28. VOWELS

4.3. Egton Vowel Phonemes and Norm Variants

The tongue positions of the vowels have been determined through comparison with the cardinal vowels[1] as spoken by Daniel Jones. The 21 Egton vowel phonemes and their norm variants are listed below.

Table 4. Egton short vowel phonemes and their norm variants

Phoneme	/i/	/e/	/a/	/o/	/u/	/ə/
Norm Variant	[i]^{x}	[ɛ]	[a]	[ɒ]	[u]$^{x}_{x}$	[ə]

x [ɪ] if unstressed xx [ʊ] if unstressed

Table 5. Egton long vowel phonemes and their norm variants

Phoneme	/i:/	/e:/	/a:/	/o:/	/u:/	/ə:/
Norm Variant	[ɪi]	[ɛ:]	[a:]	[ɔ:]	[ɷu]	[ə:]

Table 6. Egton diphthongal phonemes and their norm variants

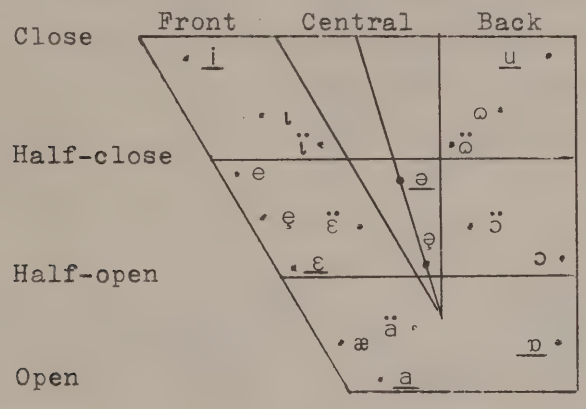
Phoneme	/ei/	/ai/	/oi/	/iu/	/au/	/ou/	/iə/	/eə/	/uɔ/
Norm Variant	[ɛɪ]	[aɪ]	[ɔɪ]	[ɪu]	[ɑɔ]	[ɔɷ]	[ɪə]	[ɛə]	[uə]

[1]Cardinal Vowels. Gramophone records 252/253 and 254/255. Linguaphone Institute, London.

4.4-10. Short Vowels

4.4. Approximate Tongue Positions of Egton Short Vowels

Figure 1. The short vowels. The norm variants in stressed position have been underlined.



4.5. /i/

Norm variant in stressed position: [i]. Close, front. Its close quality is particularly observable initially and after velar plosives.
Examples: altogether (p. 161), never (p. 160), digging (p. 165), every (p. 166), get (p. 167), giving (p. 171)
For /e/ in traditional /i/-words such as every, get, never (cf. 5.4.8-9, 5.13) owing to RP influence see /e/ (4.6).
Norm variant in unstressed position: [ɪ], which is lower and more centralized than Egton [i].
Examples: very (p. 165), shelling (p. 166), remember (p. 167), fifty (p. 171)
For [ɪ̈] in unstressed position see /ə/ (4.10).
Contrasts:[1]
/i/:/e/ tin:ten
/i/:/ə/ fist: first; marry:marrow

[1]The aim has been to set up oppositions of adjacent phonemes only.

4.6. /e/

Norm variant: [ɛ]. Half-open, front.

Examples: after (p. 161), sell (p. 163), said (p. 163), left (p. 166)

Variants:

1. [ę] is a raised variant. See further below.

Examples: then (p. 160), everything (p. 172), kept (p. 165), get (p. 167)

2. [e] is a considerably raised variant. See further below.

Examples: get (p. 167), every (p. 164), says (p. 170)

For [ɘ] in unstressed position see /ə/ (4.10).

Contrasts:

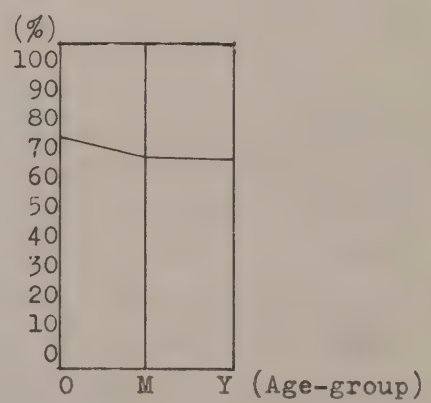
/e/:/i/ ten:tin

/e/:/a/ bed:bad

Table 7. Percentage of tokens (e.g. get) having [ɛ], [ę], [e] by age-group (4.6)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
[ɛ]	76.8	69.5	69.0
[ę]	18.4	28.5	27.3
[e]	4.8	2.0	3.7
Tokens[1]	250	200	300
Types[1]	85	72	92

Graphic representation of Table 7: Percentage of [ɛ]



The choice between the [ę] and [e] variants is probably sometimes decided by the phonetic context (cf. Ward 1958, §133) and accentual factors. In such words, however, where the traditional dialect has /i/ and RP has /e/, e.g. in every (5.13.2) and get (5.13.3) [ę] and [e] have become compromise vowels.

Table 7 shows that [ɛ] is the dominant vowel in all the three age-groups. Its main variant is [ę], which is a little more frequent in age-groups Mid (28.5%) and Young (27.3%) than in group Old (18.4%). [e] is of rare occurrence.

[1]A type is a class of identical instances of a word, a token is each instance of that class. The sequence of out, out, out consists of 1 type but 3 tokens.

4.7. /a/

Norm variant: [a]. Open, front.
Examples: man (p. 160), classed (p. 160), asked (p. 163), bass (p. 166)
Variant: [æ] is a raised variant which occurs in a small number of words owing to influence from RP /æ/.
For [ä] in stressed as well as in unstressed position see /ə/ (4.10). Cf. also /u/ (4.9).
Contrasts:
/a/:/e/ bad:bed
/a/:/o/ bad:bird
/a/:/ə/ fast:first

Table 8. Percentage of tokens (e.g. national) having [a] and RP [æ] by age-group (4.7)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
[a]	98.6	98.3	97.2
[æ]	1.4	1.7	2.8
Tokens	219	173	283
Types	78	71	96

Graphic representation of Table 8: Percentage of [a]

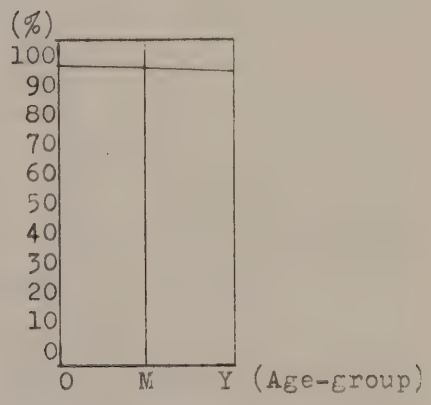


Table 8 shows that [a] asserts itself well against RP [æ] in all the three age-groups (Old 98.6%, Mid 98.3%, Young 97.2%). It is presumably one of the few traditional vowels that are stable enough to withstand RP influence for several generations. We cannot, however, regard RP influence as a constant force. It may well change its direction in future.
For /a/ = RP /a:/ in words like bath, past, staff see 5.21.

4.8. /o/

Norm variant: [ɒ]. Open, back, somewhat raised from cardinal [ɑ].
Examples: got (p. 161), horses (p. 162), top (p. 166), brock 'broke' (p. 166)

Variant: [ɔ]. Half-open, back, rounded. See further below.
Examples: bob (p. 161), Fox (p. 163), word (p. 170)
For [ɜ̈] in stressed as well as in unstressed position see /ə/ (4.10).
Contrasts:
/o/:/u/ log:lug 'ear'; long:lung; word:wood
/o/:/a/ bird:bad

Table 9. Percentage of tokens (e.g. bob, got) having [ɒ] and [ɔ] by age-group (4.8)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
[ɒ]	50.8	80.5	76.7
[ɔ]	49.2	19.5	23.3
Tokens	250	200	300
Types	72	54	78

Graphic representation of Table 9: Percentage of [ɒ]

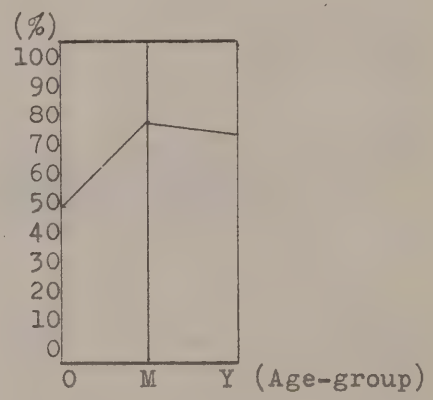


Table 9 shows that [ɒ] occurs as often as [ɔ] in age-group Old. In the Mid and Young groups, however, [ɒ] outnumbers [ɔ]. Cowling (1915) has [o] (= "mid back lax rounded", §6). Klein (1914) records [o] (= "round-mid-back-wide", p. 6), but [ɔ] (= "round-low-back-wide", p. 6) "an besonders betonten Stellen" (§47). The variation of the degree of openness is probably due to the accentual force falling on the vowel and the phonetic context, but RP [ɒ] influence cannot be excluded. The occurrence of [ɒ]~[ɔ] variation in West Riding dialects was noted by Kolb (1966, p. 17. Footnote 2) and Melchers (I 1972, pp. 66-120).

4.9. /u/

Norm variant in stressed position: [u]. Close, back, rounded. Its close quality is particularly noticeable in the neighbourhood of labials.
Examples: come (p. 163), dug (p. 165), mother (p. 167), government (p. 171)
Variant in stressed position: [ʊ], which is lower and more advanced than

Egton [u]. See further below.

Examples: much (p. 165), such (p. 172)

For [ʊ̈], [ä] replacing /u/ in stress see below and /ə/ (4.10).

Norm variant in unstressed position: [ʊ] = variant in stressed position.

Examples: do (p. 160), you (p. 171)

For [ö] in unstressed position see /ə/ (4.10).

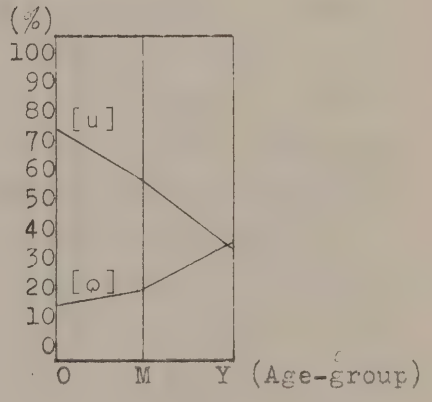
Contrasts:

/u/:/o/ lug 'ear':log; lung:long; wood:word

Table 10. Percentage of tokens (e.g. come, husband) having [u], [ʊ], [ə], [ʊ̈], [ä], [a] (= RP /ʌ/) in stress by age-group (4.9)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
[u]	76.0	58.0	35.0
[ʊ]	16.0	22.5	36.7
[ə]	0.8	7.5	12.0
[ʊ̈]	6.0	6.5	11.3
[ä]	0.0	3.0	4.7
[a]	1.2	2.5	0.3
Tokens	250	200	300
Types	70	61	96

Graphic representation of Table 10: Percentage of [u] and [ʊ]



A certain variation in the degree of the closeness and centralization of stressed /u/ is probably due to accentual factors and the phonetic context. In stressed position, however, [u] (= RP /ʌ/) is also involved in linguistic change. It is being lowered and centralized owing to influence from RP /ʌ/. As appears from Table 10 [u] is in the majority in age-groups Old (76%) and Mid (58%), but is ceding ground to [ʊ], [a] and central or centralized vowels. This trend is far more pronounced in the Young group where [ʊ], [ə], [ʊ̈], [ä], and [a] constitute 65% of the tokens. [ə], [ʊ̈], [ä], and [a], which are increasingly used in all the three age-groups (Old 8%, Mid 19.5%, Young 28.3%), may owe their introduction to women, who are often in the vanguard as far as RP innovations are concerned (Trudgill 1974a, p. 99). The female informants of age-groups Mid and Young have much larger percentages of the last-mentioned vowels (Mid 36%, Young 50%) than the males of the same groups (Mid 3%, Young

24:). Despite the strong pressure from RP /ʌ/, [u] and particularly [ɷ] will probably be heard for several generations. At last they will presumably be superseded by the central and centralized vowels. [ə] may get the upper hand. It is more strongly represented in age-groups Mid and Young than any of the other vowels except [u] and [ɷ].

4.10. /ə/

Norm variant: [ə], which is a central vowel with a tongue position slightly below half-close. It is found in stressed as well as in unstressed positions. In stress it is a compromise between RP /ə:/ and traditional /o/ in e.g. thirty (5.6.1) and between RP /ʌ/ and traditional /u/ in e.g. summer (4.9, 5.33.1).

Examples in stressed position: thirteen (p. 162), thirty (p. 162), first (p. 164), currency, fun, trust

Examples in unstressed position: but (p. 165), another (p. 169), was it (p. 166), joinering (p. 171), going (p. 166)

Variants in stressed position:

1. [ɜ̈] is a compromise vowel between Egton /o/ and RP /ə:/ in words such as church (5.6.1) and worth (5.37.1)

Examples: work (p. 160), worth (p. 166)

2. [ɔ̈], [ä] are approximations to RP /ʌ/ in traditional /u/-words such as butter and summer (cf. 4.9, 5.33-4).

Examples: [ɔ̈] but (p. 160), [ä] up (p. 171)

Variants in unstressed position:

1. [ɪ̈] socket (p. 161), private (p. 162), to (p. 167)
2. [ɛ̈] had (p. 160), they (p. 161), There (p. 163), their (p. 164)
3. [ä] and (p. 161)
4. [ɔ̈] from (p. 160), your (p. 163), for (p. 167)
5. [ɷ̈] to (p. 167)
6. [ᵊ] in final position: horse-dealer (p. 163)

Contrasts:

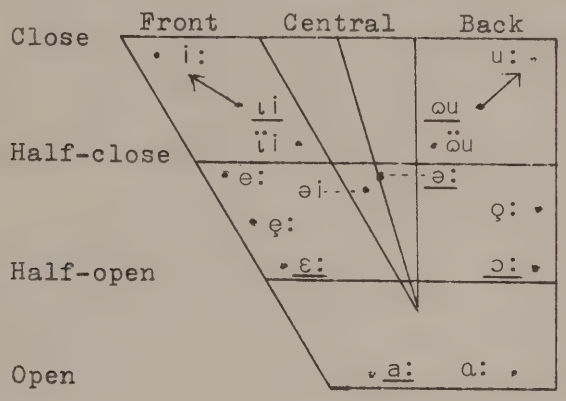
/ə/:/a/ first:fast

/ə/:/i/ love:live; marrow:marry

4.11-17. Long Vowels

4.11. Approximate Tongue Positions of Egton Long Vowels

Figure 2. The long vowels. The norm variants have been underlined.



In spite of the fact that [ɪi], [ɵ̈i], [əi], and [ɵu], [ɵ̈u] are diphthongs they have been included among the long vowels because the distance they cover, from starting point to [i] or [u], is shorter, and hence more monophthongal, than that of the "genuine" diphthongs. In Figure 2 the diphthongal vowel sound is shown as an arrow, but only in the case of [ɪi] and [ɵu]. The arrow indicates the quality of the starting point and the direction in which the quality change is made.

The long vowels are here treated as unit phonemes commutable with the short vowels as well as with the diphthongs.

4.12. /i:/

Norm variant: [ɪi]. The tongue starts from the [ɪ] position (cf. 4.5) and moves to a somewhat lowered and retracted cardinal [i].
Examples: week (p. 162), see (p. 166), me (p. 170)
Variants:
1. [ɵ̈i], [əi] are variants with lowered and retracted first elements.
Examples: [ɵ̈i] key (p. 161), machine (p. 165), bees (p. 165)
[əi] peas (p. 166)
2. [i:] is a close, front vowel.
Examples: sheep (p. 162), clean (p. 169), been (p. 171)

Contrasts:
/i:/:/i/ beet:bit; feel:fill; sheep:ship
/i:/:/e:/ feel:fail; green:grain

4.13. /e:/

Norm variant: [ɛ:]. Half-open, front.
Examples: hay (p. 161), place (p. 164), away (p. 165), day (p. 166)
Variants:
1. [ɛ:ᵊ]. An off-glide is sometimes heard after [ɛ:].
Examples: changed (p. 164), pay (p. 168), rails (p. 170)
2. [ę:], [e:], which were found in words with traditional /iə/, are compromise vowels between [ɪə] and [ɛ:]. [ɛ:] has become the common Egton substitute for RP /ei/ in traditional /iə/-words like place and same as words such as day and tail have traditional /ɛ:/ = RP /ei/ (5.78-9).
Example: [e:] saved (p. 164)
Contrasts:
/e:/:/e/ fail:fell; tail:tell
/e:/:/i:/ fail:feel; grain:green
/e:/:/a:/ lake 'play':lark

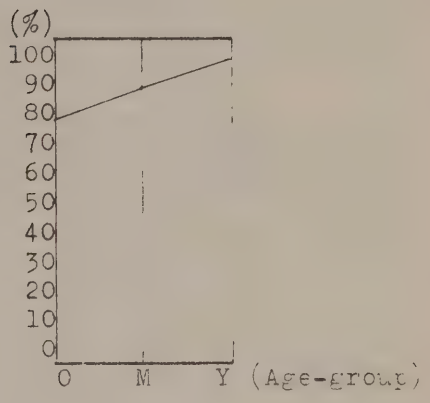
4.14. /a:/

Norm variant: [a:]. Open, front.
Examples: time (pp. 161, 164), drive (p. 164), garden (p. 166), can't (p. 172)
Variants:
1. [ɑ:]. A slightly advanced cardinal [ɑ] is attributable to RP influence.
Examples: can't (p. 161), started (p. 167)
2. [a:ᵊ], [ɑ:ᵊ] are variants with off-glides.
Examples: [a:ᵊ] farm (p. 160), mile (p. 162), forty-five (p. 166)
[ɑ:ᵊ] mile (p. 166)
Contrasts:
/a:/:/a/ cart:cat; March:match; park:pack
/a:/:/e:/ lark:lake 'play'
/a:/:/o:/ card:cord; farm:form

Table 11. Percentage of tokens (e.g. far, farm) having [a:] and RP [ɑ:] by age-group (4.14)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
[a:]	80.4	90.5	100
[ɑ:]	19.6	9.5	0.0
Tokens	250	200	267
Types	52	44	61

Graphic representation of Table 11: Percentage of [a:]



As appears from Table 11 [a:] asserts itself extremely well in all age-groups against RP [ɑ:] in words such as car and cart. The percentage of [a:] is even larger in age-group Young (100%) than in age-groups Old (80.4%) and Mid (90.5%). It is to be noted, however, that [a] is used in a syllable closed by /f/, /θ/, /s/, or by /m/, /n/ before a consonant (cf. 5.21, 5.17.5) and that [aɷ] is ousting [ɑɷ] (cf. 4.23), which shows that Egton speakers prefer the front vowel. Some RP speakers also use a variety of /ɑ:/ fronted towards cardinal [a] (Gimson 1973, 7:14 (3)). [a:] may be one of the few traditional vowels that will persist. It may be a characteristic feature of future Egton speech.

4.15. /o:/

Norm variant: [ɔ:]. Half-open, back, rounded.
Examples: know (p. 166), always (p. 164), walk (p. 166), smaller (p. 172)
Variants:
1. [ǫ:] is somewhat lowered from cardinal [o]. It is particularly used in words where the traditional dialect has other vowels than RP. See further below.
Examples: so (p. 161), sorts (p. 164), go (p. 170), won't (172), road (p. 172)
2. [ɔ:^{ə}], [ǫ:^{ə}]. An off-glide is sometimes heard, e.g. in all (p. 169). It replaces the loss of post-vocalic /r/ in e.g. war (p. 160), but in e.g. [bɪˈfǫ:^{ə}ɹ] 'before' (p. 161) and [ˈsǫ·^{ə}ts] 'sorts' (p. 164) [ǫ:^{ə}] is probably a lowering of Egton [ɷə] owing to influence from RP /ɔ:/.

Contrasts:

/o:/:/o/ goat:got; half:off; old:odd

/o:/:/a:/ cord:card; form:farm

/o:/:/u:/ crow:crew; know:now

Table 12. Percentage of tokens (e.g. road, stone) having [ɔ:] and [ǫ:] by age-group (4.15)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
[ɔ:]	66.0	78.5	69.3
[ǫ:]	34.0	21.5	30.7
Tokens	250	200	300
Types	70	67	81

Graphic representation of Table 12: Percentage of [ɔ:]

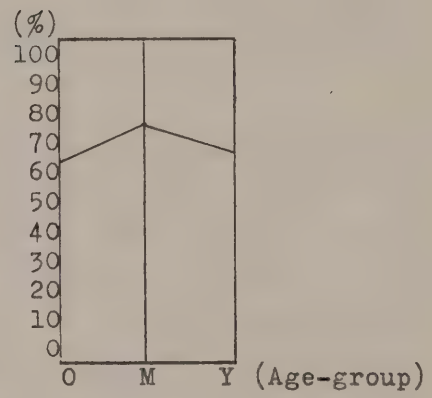


Table 12 shows that [ɔ:] is in the majority in all the three age-groups (Old 66%, Mid 78.5%, Young 69.3%). [ǫ:] is mainly used in words with different phonemes in the traditional dialect and RP. It is a compromise vowel between the traditional vowels and [ɔ:]. [ɔ:] has become the common Egton substitute for RP /əʊ/ in words like /ruəd/ 'road' and /stiən/ 'stone' as words such as know and throw with /əʊ/ in RP have [ɔ:] traditionally (5.82.3-6).

4.16. /u:/

Norm variant: [ʊu]. The tongue starts from the [ʊ] position (4.9, 4.11) and moves towards cardinal [u].

Examples: about (p. 168), took (p. 160), down (p. 163), school (p. 166)

Variants:

1. [ʊ̈u] is a variant with a lowered and advanced first element.

Examples: shoes (p. 164), school (p. 166)

2. [u:] is a close, back, rounded variant.

Examples: without (p. 163), round (p. 164), lose (p. 172)

Contrasts:
/u:/:/u/ town:ton
/u:/:/o:/ crew:crow; now:know

4.17. /ə:/

[ə:] is a central vowel with a tongue position slightly below half-close. It does not occur in the traditional Egton dialect, but has been introduced from RP replacing /o/ in e.g. first (5.6.2), word (5.37.1), and /a:/ in e.g. certain (5.14.5).
Examples: work (p. 160), turn (p. 163)
Contrasts:
/ə:/:/i:/ work:week
/ə:/:/o:/ work:walk

4.18-28. Diphthongs

4.18. Approximate Tongue Positions of Egton Closing and Centring Diphthongs

4.18.1. Closing Diphthongs

Figure 3. [-ɪ]-diphthongs. The norm variants have been underlined.

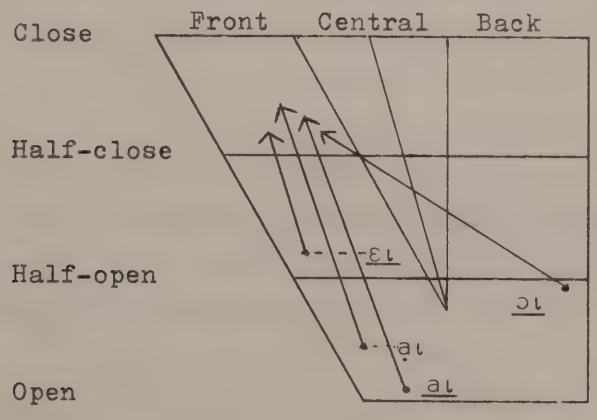
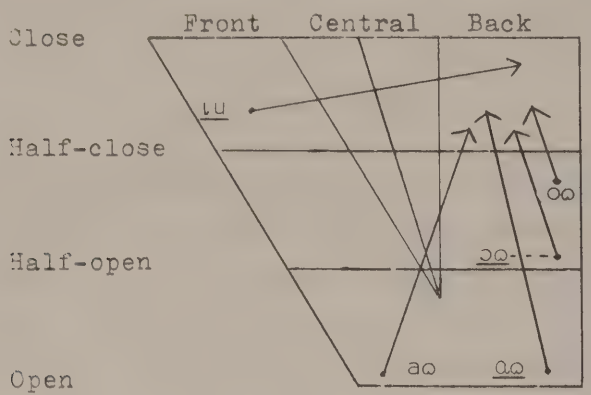
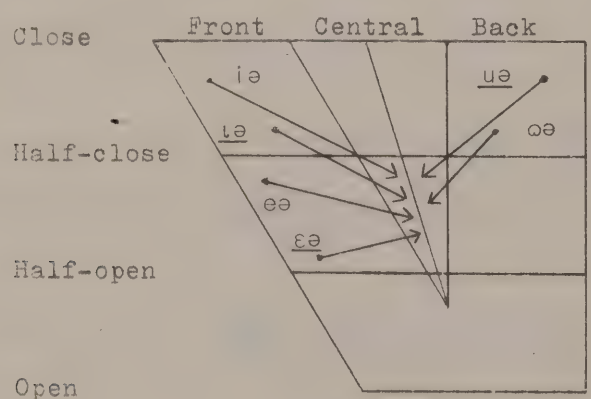


Figure 4. [-u] and [-ɷ]-diphthongs. The norm variants have been underlined.



4.18.2. Centring Diphthongs

Figure 5. [-ə]-diphthongs. The norm variants have been underlined.



Except for [ɪu] (4.22) and the diphthongal variants of /i:/ (4.12) and /u:/ (4.16), which are all rising, the Egton diphthongs are falling, i.e. the first element is more prominent than the second.

The diphthongs are here treated as unit phonemes commutable with the long vowels as well as with the short.

4.19. /ei/

Norm variant: [ɐɪ]. The glide begins from just above the half-open front position and moves in the direction of [ɪ] (4.5). The traditional Egton /ei/

in words such as die (5.49.2), knife (5.43.1), and night (5.7.4) is dying out owing to RP influence. At the same time, however, RP /ei/ in e.g. day and way is ousting traditional Egton /e:/ (5.78-9).
Examples: twenty-eight (pp. 161, 164), Right (p. 162), place (p. 164), days (p. 171)
Contrasts:
/ei/:/i:/ nice:niece
/ei/:/e:/ like:lake 'play'
/ei/:/ai/ pay:pie

4.20. /ai/

Norm variant: [aɪ]. The tongue starts in a position somewhat retracted from cardinal [a], and moves towards [ɪ] (4.5). The number of traditional /ai/-words is small (cf. 5.40-41), but owing to RP influence it is now on the increase (cf. 5.42).
Examples: pined (p. 161), buy (p. 165), straight (p. 166), eight (p. 166)
Variant: [ạɪ]. A raised first element of the diphthong occurs in words with traditional /ei/ (= RP /ai/) (5.7.4-6, 5.15, 5.40-44, 5.49) and /ai/ (= RP /ei/) (5.15.3-4, 5.49.1). It is a compromise diphthong owing to RP influence.
Examples: night (p. 165), straight (p. 168)
Contrasts:
/ai/:/a:/ bike:bark; kite:cart
/ai/:/ei/ pie:pay
/ai/:/oi/ buy:boy; pint:point

4.21. /oi/

Norm variant: [ɔɪ]. The tongue glide begins approximately at cardinal [ɔ] and moves in the direction of [ɪ] (4.5).
Examples: boy (p. 170), joinering (p. 171)
Contrasts:
/oi/:/o:/ boil:ball; oil:all
/oi/:/ai/ boy:buy; point:pint

4.22. /iu/

Norm variant: [ɪu]. The first element of this rising diphthong is similar to Egton [ɪ] (4.5). The second element is a close back vowel. /iu/ is of rare occurrence, being mostly replaced by RP /ju:/ and /u:/ (cf. 5.86-91, 5.66-8).
Example: took (p. 170)
Contrasts:
/iu/:/iə/ new:no; tune:taken
/iu/:/u:/ new:now; tune:town

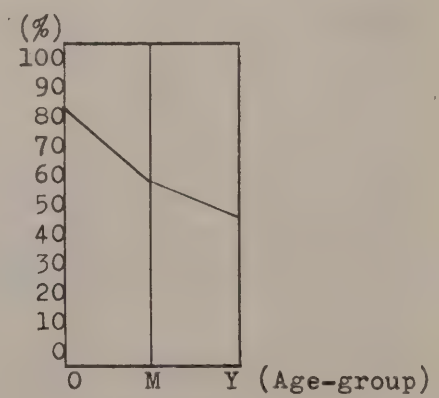
4.23. /au/

Norm variant: [ɑʊ]. The tongue moves from a position somewhat advanced from cardinal [ɑ] towards [ʊ] (4.9).
Examples: boughten (p. 163), ground (p. 166), about (p. 171)
Variant: [aʊ]. The first element is often a front open vowel. See further below.
Examples: brought (p. 164), show (p. 165)
Contrasts:
/au/:/a:/ aught 'anything':heart
/au/:/ai/ aught 'anything':eight

Table 13. Percentage of tokens (e.g. about) having [ɑʊ] and [aʊ] by age-group (4.23)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
[ɑʊ]	84.4	60.0	47.8
[aʊ]	15.6	40.0	52.2
Tokens	250	200	278
Types	43	40	53

Graphic representation of Table 13: Percentage of [ɑʊ]



/au/ is a fairly new Egton phoneme (5.29, 5.31, 5.83). Originally, it was used only in a limited number of words. It was probably realized as [ɑʊ].

As appears from Table 13 the use of [ɑʊ] is decreasing (Old 84.4%, Mid 60%, Young 47.8%). The women have considerably larger percentages of [aʊ]-tokens (Mid 67%, Young 92%) than the men (Mid 13%, Young 43.4%). This might lead us to suspect that [aʊ] has been introduced by women from RP since women are often more aware of the importance of using RP forms than men (cf. 4.9). [aʊ] is, however, not the only realization of RP /au/. Considerable latitude seems to be permitted in RP between [aʊ] and [ɑʊ] (Gimson 1973, 7.26 (3)). This RP latitude has apparently been introduced into the dialect, which, together with the occurrence of traditional [ɑʊ]-words, may have led to the present vacillation between [aʊ] and [ɑʊ]. The fact that the women have smaller percentages of [ɑʊ]-tokens than the men is probably due to their avoidance of /au/ [ɑʊ] in words like brought (5.31.2), grow (5.85.1), and roll (5.29.3). A certain predilection for the front [a] may have contributed to the increase in the use of [aʊ]. Cf. [a] (= RP /a:/) in words like bath, fast, staff (5.21), dance, example (5.17.5), and [a:] (= usually RP [ɑ:]) in e.g. far and farm (4.14).

4.24. /ou/

Norm variant: [ɔʊ]. The tongue moves from a half-open back position towards [ʊ] (4.9).
Example: old (p. 164)
Variant: [oʊ]. The first element is somewhat lowered from cardinal [o].
Contrasts:
/ou/:/au/ know:now

The realizations of /ou/, [ɔʊ] and [oʊ], are approximations to RP /əu/ and of low frequency of occurrence (cf. 5.63.2. Note).

4.25. Closing Diphthongs + [ə]

/ai/ and /au/ are followed by [ə] before /r/, potential or realized as [ɹ].
Examples: [aʊə] 'over' (p. 168), ['fɑʊəɹ] 'four' (p. 167)
Contrasts:
/faiə(r)/:/fauə(r)/ fire:four

4.26. /iə/

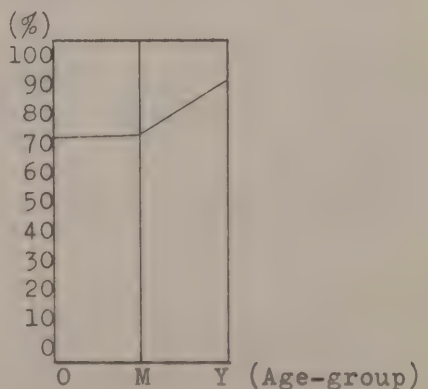
Norm variant: [ɪə]. The first element is slightly raised from a retracted cardinal [ə]. In final positions the second element is a half-open central vowel. In non-final positions it seems to be somewhat closer.
Examples: year (p. 164), head (p. 168), do (p. 168), done (p. 170)
Variant: [iə]. The first element is somewhat lowered and retracted from cardinal [i].
Examples: save (p. 161), year (p. 165)
For [eə] and [e:], [ę:], [ɛ:] in traditional /iə/-words see /eə/ (4.27) and /e:/ (4.13).
Contrasts:
/iə/:/eə/ home:arm
/iə/:/i:/ do:die v.; no:knee

The number of old /iə/-words such as do, head, home, name is rapidly decreasing because of RP influence (cf. 5.51-5, 5.56-9, 5.65-8). This explains the small number of tokens in the Young group in comparison with the other age-groups (Table 14). In the Old and Mid groups only 25% of the /iə/-tokens have the close variant, and this low frequency of [iə] is still more pronounced in the Young group (6.3%). A certain variation of the closeness of the first element of the diphthong may be due to the accentual force falling on the diphthong and the phonetic context. It is, however, possible that [iə] is the older diphthong, whose first element has been lowered owing

Table 14. Percentage of tokens (e.g. home, year) having [ɪə] and [iə] by age-group (4.26)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
[ɪə]	74.1	75.8	93.7
[iə]	25.9	24.2	6.3
Tokens	143	153	96
Types	41	34	27

Graphic representation of Table 14: Percentage of [ɪə]



to RP influence. In words such as name and save, [ɪə] beside [eə] (4.27), [e:] and [ę:] (4.13) may have become a compromise diphthong between original [iə] and [ɛ:], the common Egton substitute for RP /ei/ (4.13). In e.g. head, [ɪə] beside [eə] (4.27) may be regarded as a compromise between [iə] and RP /e/. [ɪə] may then have spread to other traditional [iə]-words such as do and home.

4.27. /eə/

Norm variant: [ɛə]. The first element is a half-open front vowel. For the second element see /iə/ (4.26).
Example: arm (p. 160)
Variant: [eə], whose first element is somewhat below cardinal [e], may be a compromise diphthong between traditional [iə] and either [ɛ:], the common substitute for RP /ei/ in e.g. same (4.13), or RP /e/ in e.g. head. [eə] may also have spread to other traditional [iə]-words such as do and home (cf. 4.26).
Examples: do (p. 160), breaking (p. 167), home (p. 167), made (p. 170)
Contrasts:
/eə/:/iə/ arm:home
/eə/:/e:/ hare:hay

4.28. /uə/

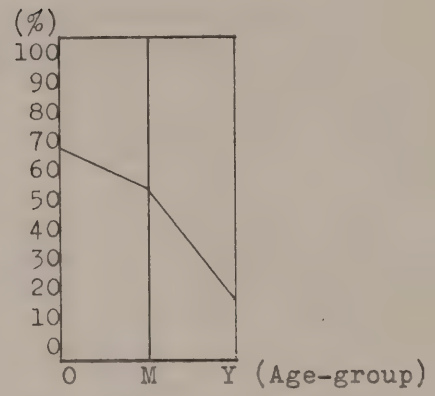
Norm variant: [uə]. The first element is somewhat lowered and advanced from cardinal [u]. For the second element see /iə/ (4.26).
Examples: our (p. 164), hours (p. 167)
Variant: [ɷə]. The first component is somewhat raised from an advanced cardinal [o].
Example: coals (p. 167)
For [ǫ:], [ɔ:], [ǫ:ᵊ], and [ɔ:ᵊ] in words with traditional /uə/ see /o:/ (4.15).
Contrasts:
/uə/:/u:/ boat:boot; coal:cool; load:loud
/uə/:/u/ boat:but; foal:full

/uə/ has a low frequency of occurrence in the dialect (cf. 5.62). Table 15 shows that the close variety [uə], which is in the majority in age-groups Old (70%) and Mid (56.8%), is being ousted by [ɷə] in the Young group (18.2%). In view of the small number of /uə/ tokens recorded the percentages may, however, be unrepresentative. Apart from a certain variation of the closeness of

Table 15. Percentage of tokens (e.g. coal, foal) having [uə] and [ɷə] by age-group (4.28)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
[uə]	70.0	56.8	18.2
[ɷə]	30.0	43.2	81.8
Tokens	20	37	11
Types	9	13	7

Graphic representation of Table 15: Percentage of [uə]



the first element of the diphthong owing to the phonetic context and the accentual force falling on the diphthong, it is possible that [uə] is the traditional diphthong, whose first component is being lowered because of RP influence. [ɷə] beside [ɒ:(ɔ)] may therefore be a compromise between traditional [uə] and [ɔ:], the common substitute for RP /əʊ/ (cf. 4.15) in e.g. boat (5.61) and coal (5.63.1), or the RP vowel itself in e.g. sort (5.64).

4.29-33. CONSONANTS

4.29. Place and Manner of the Articulation of Egton Consonants

The Egton consonantal system corresponds to that of RP/StE except for a few minor details mentioned below.

Table 16. Place and manner of the articulation of Egton consonants

Manner \ Place	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Dental	Al-veolar	Post-al-veolar	Retro-flex	Palato-al-veolar	Pala-tal	Ve-lar	Glot-tal
Plosive	p/b			t̪/d̪	t/d					k/g	ʔ
Affricate								tʃ/dʒ			
Fricative		f/v	θ/ð		s/z	ɹ	ɻ	ʃ/ʒ			h
Nasal	m				n					ŋ	
Lateral					l						
Tap						ɾ					
Semi-vowel	w								j		

4.30. Plosives

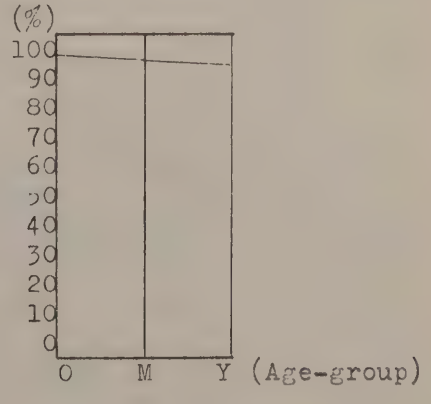
4.30.1. Aspiration. Initial [p], [t], and [k] preceding a vowel in an accented syllable are accompanied by weak aspiration.

4.30.2. Replacement of [t] and [k] by [ʔ]. [ʔ] occurs as a variant of /t/ word-

Table 17. Percentage of tokens (e.g. what, bitter) having [ʔ] and RP [t] word-finally and medially by age-group (4.30.2)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
[t]	100	98.5	97.0
[ʔ]	0.0	1.5	3.0
Tokens	415	331	428
Types	153	118	164

Graphic representation of Table 17: Percentage of [t]



finally and medially in the Mid and Young groups.
Examples: at (p. 165), what (p. 169), bit (p. 170), that (p. 172)

Table 17 shows that the Young group (3%) has a somewhat larger percentage of [ʔ] than the Mid group (1.5%), which may mean that the use of [ʔ] is on the increase.

[ʔ] also replaces [k] word-finally in the Mid (1x) and Young (1x) groups.
Example: back (p. 168)

Apart from realizations of the definite article /t/ (8.2.2) [ʔ] occurs only in the Mid and Young age-groups. It is not used by the female informants (cf. Sivertsen 1960, p. 119). It is therefore possible that [ʔ] for [t] and [k] is an innovation led by male speakers owing to the influence of neighbouring town accents (cf. Chapter 9). Non-standard linguistic varieties often seem to be introduced by men in imitation of working-class speech (Trudgill 1974a, p. 100).

4.30.3. [t]>[ɾ] inter-vocalically. /t/ is realized as [ɾ] before a vowel in get (26x) and put (2x) in age-groups Old (2x), Mid (25x), and Young (1x). One male informant is responsible for 96% of the tokens of the Mid group. Cowling (1915, §364) has [gid] and [pud] before vowels, which may mean that [d] was the link between [t] and [ɾ] (cf. Ward 1958, §250 (b)).
Example: ['gɪɾɪt] 'get it' (p. 163)

4.30.4. Dental Plosives. /t/ is realized as [t̪] before /r/ and /ər/ in a few words (cf. 7.8-9).
Example: ['waṯəɹ] 'water' (p. 167)

/d/ is realized as [d̪] before /ər/ in a small number of words (cf. 7.6-7).
Examples: ['ɒ:ɪtə'gid̪ə] 'altogether' (p. 161), ['mud̪əɹ] 'mother' (p. 167)

4.30.5. For the Definite Article /t/ see 8.2.2.

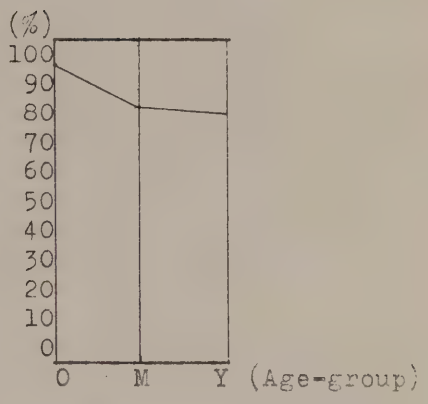
4.31. Laterals

/l/ is usually realized as [l] in those positions where RP has [ɫ]. Table 18 shows, however, that a change may be in progress. [l] dominates the Old group (98%) almost exclusively while, in the Mid (84.5%) and Young (83%) groups, it is slowly losing ground to [ɫ]. The women of the Mid group have a considerably larger percentage of [ɫ] (34.6%) than the men of the same group (5%). In the Young group the female informant has only a somewhat larger percentage of [ɫ] (23.3%) than the male informants (20.3%). It is possible that [ɫ] has been introduced into the dialect from RP by Egton women (cf. 4.9).

Table 18. Percentage of tokens (e.g. fill, field) having [ɪ] and [ɨ] (= RP [ɨ]) by age-group (4.31)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
[ɪ]	98.0	84.5	83.0
[ɨ]	2.0	15.5	17.0
Tokens	250	200	300
Types	59	56	78

Graphic representation of Table 18: Percentage of [ɪ]



It may be assumed that [ɪ] is stable enough to continue to exist for several generations.

4.32. Fricatives

4.32.1. /θ/ is realized as [s] in (I)think (1x Old, 2x Young), as [t] in (was) thousand (1x Old), as [t̪] in thinned (1x Mid, p. 170) and before /r/ in three (8x Old, 4x Mid), through (9x Old, 6x Mid, 2x Young), and throw (1x Old, 1x Mid, p. 168). The difficulties of articulation that [θ] seems to offer (Gimson 1973, 8.16 (3)) may explain its replacement, but in several cases assimilation is also possible (cf. 7.9). [t] instead of [θ] was noted in Cockney by Sivertsen (1960, 4.222), [t] and [s] for [θ] in the English of Tristan da Cunha by Zettersten (1969, p. 72).

4.32.2. [z] is partially devoiced in word-final position.

Examples: lads (p. 160), calves (p. 165), peas (p. 166), was (p. 167)

4.32.3. /r/ is usually [ɹ]. [ɾ] occurs after [t̪], sometimes post-vocalically before /k/, and sometimes inter-vocalically. A retroflex [ɻ], which often affects the quality of the preceding vowel, is sometimes heard finally and before a consonant (cf. 7.9, 7.23).

Examples: ['vaɹɪ] 'very' (p. 163), ['t̪ɾi:] 'three' (p. 169), [ˌwɔɾk] 'work' (p. 169), [fɔɾəm] 'for them' (p. 164), ['maɪnəɻ] 'miner' (p. 160), ['wɒɻk] 'work' (p. 168)

4.32.4. For the addition of [h] before a word beginning with a vowel for the sake of emphasis and the absence of /h-/ in accented words see 7.12 and 7.15.

4.33. Consonant Phonemes

The table below is a classification of the 24 Egton consonant phonemes.

Table 19. Egton consonant phonemes (4.33)

	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Al-veolar	Post-al-veolar	Pala-to-al-veolar	Pala-tal	Velar	Glot-tal
Plosive	p/b			t/d				k/g	
Affricate						tʃ/dʒ			
Fricative		f/v	θ/ð	s/z	r	ʃ/ʒ			h
Nasal	m			n				ŋ	
Lateral				l					
Semi-vowel	w						j		

Contrasts:

p:b pig:big
t:d ten:den
k:g cap v. 'surprise':gap
tʃ:dʒ larch:large
f:v fat:vat
θ:s thick:sick
ð:d then:den
s:z peace:peas
ʃ:tʃ sheep:cheap
r:l right:light
ʒ:d measure:meadow
h:Ø high:eye
m:n:ŋ sum:son:sung
w:v west:vest
j:l yard:lard

5. PHONOLOGY: THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORTHERN MIDDLE ENGLISH VOWELS OF STRESSED SYLLABLES

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5.1-38. Northern Middle English Short Vowels

5.1. Introduction

The basis for the diachronic treatment of the vowels will be late (approximately 14th century) Northern Middle English (NME).

A comparison of the words of OE, OF, and ON origin shows that the words of OE and OF descent have approximately the same percentages (41% and 39%) of traditional tokens while those of ON descent have a relatively small percentage (21%). The words of ON origin are, however, few compared with those of OE and OF descent, which may make the percentage unrepresentative. Some of them e.g. lake 'play' (5.79.3), stower 'pole' (5.85.5), whie 'heifer' (5.43.4) are dying out because they have no StE equivalents to support them while others such as both (5.58.2), cake (5.58.5), and want (5.22.2) have established themselves well but are seldom pronounced in the old traditional way owing to influence from RP variants. Certain words (see e.g. 5.54, 5.58, 5.71-3, 5.85) of any origin lack RP variants in my material although such exist elsewhere, which often seems to be due to their infrequency.

5.2. Table 20 shows the late NME short vowel phonemes in stressed syllables (cf. Brunner I 1960, p. 253; Dobson II 1968, Chapter VII, Part 1), their modern Egton representatives, and RP/StE influence.

Table 20. NME short vowel phonemes in stress, their modern Egton representatives, and RP/StE influence (5.2)

NME	Traditional Egton[1]	RP/StE influenced Egton[1]	Chapter
/i/ [ɪ] unconditioned	/i/ [i]	- -[2]	5.4.1-7 5.4.12
/i/ before /ŋ/ and between /g/ or /j/ and dental	/i/	/e/ between /g/ or /j/ and dental (e.g. yes)	5.4.8-11
/i/ before /nd/	/i/	/ai/ [aɪ] (e.g. find)	5.5
/ir/ finally or before consonants	/o/ [ɒ] before dentals, otherwise /or/	/ə:/, /ə/ (e.g. thirty) compromise between /o/ and RP /ə:/	5.6
/ix/ before /t/	/i:/ [ɪi]	/ai/ (e.g. night)	5.7
/ex/ before /t/	/ei/ [ɛɪ]	/ai/ (e.g. right)	5.7.4-6
/e/ [ɛ] unconditioned	/e/ [ɛ]	- -	5.9-10
/e/ particularly before dentals	/i/	/e/ (e.g. get)	5.12-13
/er/ finally or before consonants	/a:/ [a:], in word-final often /a:r/	/ə:/ (e.g. certain) and /o:/ (war) in words of French origin	5.14
/ex/ before /t/	/ei/	/ai/ (e.g. fight)	5.15
/a/ [a] unconditioned	/a/ [a]	RP /æ/ (e.g. national)	5.17
/a/ in mak, schak, and tak	/a/	/ei/ and its substitutes /e/, /e:/ [ɛ:]	5.18
/a/ before /ŋ/	/a/	/o/ (e.g. long)	5.20
/a/ before /f/, /θ/, and /s/	/a/	/a:/ (plaster)	5.21
/a/ after /w/	/a/	/o/ (e.g. what), /o:/ (water)	5.22

[1]The phonetic notation refers to the norm variants (cf. Chapter 4).
[2]Blanks in the "RP/StE influenced Egton" column mean that the traditional Egton development corresponds to that of RP/StE.

NME	Traditional Egton	RP/StE influenced Egton	Chapter
/al/ finally or before consonants	/o:/ [ɔ:]	/l/ reintroduced (e.g. all, cold), /a:/ (e.g. calf), /oul/ [ɔʊl] approximation to RP /əʊl/ (cold, old)	5.23
/ar/ finally or before consonants	/a:/, in word-final often /a:r/	/o:/ after /w/ (e.g. warm), /ə:/ (were)	5.24
/ax/ before /t/	/o:/	- -	5.25
/o/ [ɔ] unconditioned	/o/ [ɒ]	- -	5.27,30
/ol/ finally or before consonants	/au/ [ɑʊ]	/l/ reintroduced finally (e.g. bowl)	5.29
/or/ finally or before consonants	/or/	/o:/ (e.g. fork)	5.30
/ox/ before /t/	/au/	/o:/ (e.g. bought)	5.31
/u/ [ʊ] unconditioned	/u/ [u]	/ə/, /a/ [a] substitutes for RP /ʌ/ (e.g. butter)	5.33
/u/ before /nd/	/u/	/au/ (e.g. pound) /u:/ (wounded)	5.35
/ul/ before consonants /ul/ finally	/u:/ [ʊu] ?[1]	/l/ reintroduced (shoulder) /ul/ (e.g. full)	5.36
/ur/	/o/ before dental, otherwise /or/	/ə:/ (e.g. word), /ə/ compromise between /o/ and RP /ə:/ (e.g. worse)	5.37

5.3-7. NME /i/

5.3. NME /i/ remains as /i/ (5.4-5).

Exceptions and RP/StE influence:

1. RP /e/ is superseding /i/ between /g/ or /j/ and dental (5.4.8-9).
2. RP /ai/ is ousting /i/ before /nd/ (5.5).
3. In the NME group /ir/ finally or pre-consonantally /i/ has developed into

[1]A question-mark in the "Traditional Egton" column means that it is not quite clear if a recorded form is traditional Egton or RP/StE.

/o/. RP /əː/ and /ə/, which is a compromise between RP /əː/ and traditional /o/, are frequent alternants (5.6).

4. NME /ix/ before /t/ has become /iː/. In a few words /ei/ occurs beside /iː/. RP /ai/ is superseding the /iː/ and /ei/ forms (5.7).

5.4. NME /i/ remains as /i/ in unconditioned position (5.4.1-7, 5.4.12) and in a small number of words with early ME conditioned /e/ raised to /i/ before /ŋ/ and between /g/ or /j/ and dentals (5.4.8-11). Some of the words in conditioned position have usually also /e/ through RP influence (5.4.8-9, cf. 5.13).

5.4.1. < OE i

Bill 'beak', bin, bit 'small piece', /bit/ 'bitten' (8.24.2), bitch, bitter a., bring, chilly a., chin, dish n., drink, driven p.p., finger n. (7.19), fish, flint, give v. (7.26), inn, itch v., lick v., limb n., lip n., middle, mig 'urine' (7.28.3), milk n. (Angl milc), miss v., mist n., pick v., pin n., prick v., quick a., ring (5.33.1. Note), risen p.p. (6.13), ship n., sickle n., sieve, sift, /sin/~ RP /sins/ 'since' adv., conj. (8.10.2, 8.27), sing, sit (6.13, 8.24.1), smit 'infect', spinster (6.13), spring 'season', stick (5.33.1. Note), still adv., stink v., stitch n., strickle n., thick a., thing, this (8.17.3), thistle, tin, tit 'teat', whickens pl. 'couch-grass' (7.16), will, win v., winter n. (also pl.n.el.) Wintergill, with (7.14, 7.25), wrist, written p.p. (6.13)

Note. /i/ and /u/ alternate in much. /mitʃ/ presupposes NME miche < OE micel ~(mycel; i>y in late WS, Campbell 1971, §318). The /u/ of /mutʃ/ is probably the common Egton rendering of RP /ʌ/.

5.4.2. < OE ī shortened mainly before single consonants in trisyllabic words and in compounds (Luick 1964, §§352-3,387)

Chicken (< Angl ī, Campbell 1971, §229), ditch v., linen (6.13), stiff, Whit

5.4.3. < OE y unrounded

Bristles pl., did pret., dip 'wash sheep in vermin-killing liquid', dizzy a., dripping n. 'fat', fill v. (4.12, 4.31), grip n. 'drain in cow-stall', hill n., hip (part of the body), inch n. (8.6.2), kin n., king n., kingdom, kiss v., kitchen (6.13), knit, linch(pin), listen, midge, mill n., pillow n. (6.11), pit n., sill, sin n., thin (4.32.1), think (4.32.1)

5.4.4. < OE ȳ unrounded and shortened before a consonant group (Luick 1964, §204.1)

Thimble (7.17)

5.4.5. < ON i

Clip v. 'shear', gill 'ravine with a stream' (pl.n.el.) Wintergill (7.28.3), hit v., ill a., kid n., skill, skin n., smithy, window

5.4.6. < ON y unrounded

Biggin 'building' (pl.n.el.) Newbiggin, cf. Newbigginge Will of E. Salven of Egton (ClW 1557); brig (7.28.3) pl.n.el. ~RP/StE /bridʒ/ (also pl.n.el.) 'bridge', Egton Brig, cf. Egdon brige Will of R. Davison of Egton Bridge (ClW 1551); filly, flit v., gimmer (7.28.3) 'young ewe', kindling (6.17, 7.18.2) 'firewood', lift v., ling 'heather', rigg (7.28.3) 'ridge' n. (pl.n.el.) Leaserigg, cf. Leise Rige Will of R. Davison of Egton Bridge (ClW 1551); sister

5.4.7. < OF (Lat) i

Brick n., deliver, different (6.13), difficult, dinner, enlist, inscription, liberty, limit, liquid, particular (6.7) a., pigeon n., pill n., pillar n., primitive a., prison (6.16.2) n., quit v., religious (6.3.1) a., river (6.13), scissors, simple (6.13) a., subscription (6.4), village

5.4.8. < Angl e (Campbell 1971, §§203. Note 1, 217. Note 2) raised to /i/ before /ŋ/ and between /g/ or /j/ and dental (Jordan 1968, §34)

English (7.19), cf. Inglis CMCo 24

/i/~RP /e/: Together (7.6), cf. togider CMCo 582 and Will of Th. Dawson of Egton (ClW 1539); yesterday (5.13, 6.10), cf ʒisterday CathAngl (1483) p. 427

5.4.9. < Angl ē (Campbell 1971, §186; Luick 1964, §173. Anm. 2) shortened and raised to /i/ between /j/ and dental (Jordan 1968, §34)

/i/~RP /e/: Yes (5.13, 8.10.3), cf. yis CMGö 2761; yet (5.13), cf. yitt CMCo 796

5.4.10. < OF e raised to /i/ before /ŋ/ (Jordan 1968, §34)

Ink n., cf. inc CMCo 648

5.4.11. < ON e raised to /i/ before /ŋ/ (Jordan 1968, §34)

Bink (7.28.1) 'stone bench', cf. binck CMGö 5321; hing v. 'hang', cf. hing CMGö 4946, hynge CathAngl (1483) p. 186

5.4.12. Of obscure origin (cf. 5.11. Footnote 2)

Big, kick v., kidney, kill v., pig n., pitch v., tinker (6.13) n., whip v.

5.5. NME /i/ before /nd/ remains short.

5.5.1. < OE i

OE i before nd remains short in a few words. The spelling of finnd 144, 625, 640 in YoDial (1684) suggests a short /i/. Table 21 shows that there is

a remarkably large percentage of /i/ in age-group Mid (57.1%) compared to age-group Old (5%). One male informant, JS (3.2), is responsible for all the /i/ tokens of age-group Mid, which, together with the absence of /i/ tokens in group Young, makes it probable that /i/ will have died out in words of this category in a generation or so.

/i/: hinder a., wind n.

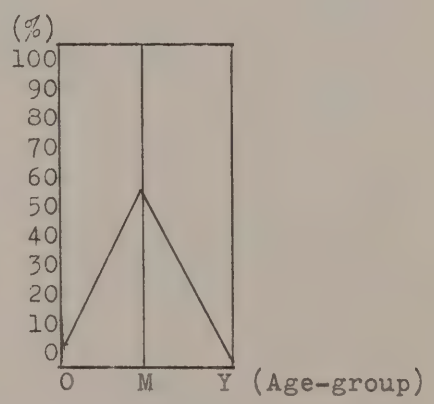
/i/~RP /ai/: behind (7.10.1), bind v., find v.

RP /ai/: blind a.

Table 21. Percentage of tokens (behind, bind, find, hinder a.) having /i/ and RP /ai/ by age-group (5.5.1)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/i/	5.0	57.1	0.0
/ai/	95.0	42.9	100
Tokens	20	14	19
Types	4	4	3

Graphic representation of Table 21: Percentage of /i/



5.5.2. < OE y

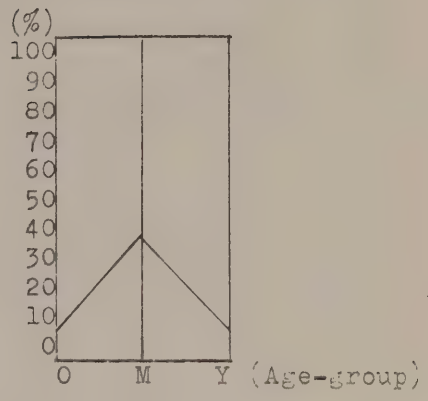
OE y before nd appears as /ai/ in kind a. and mind, which is probably due to borrowing from RP. Cowling (1915, §113) believes that ME /i/ (< OE y) became long before /nd/ and developed like ME /i:/ before voiced consonants into /a:/ (cf. 5.40-1). Ellis (1889, p. 528), however, has [ɪ] in mind for Danby, a village 8 miles west of Egton, in Variety iia of District 30 (= East Northern) and in kind for Whitby, 7 miles east of Egton, in Variety iib of the same district, which suggests a lNME /i/ (cf. Hedevind 1967, 4:7.2; Orton 1933, §111).

5.6. In the NME group /ir/ finally or followed by a consonant /i/ has become /o/, which is also the representative of /u/ in the ME group /ur/ in the same positions (5.37). According to Orton (1933, §412) ME /ir/ and /ur/ + consonant

Table 22. Percentage of tokens (e.g. bird, first) having /o/, RP /ə:/, and /ə/, a compromise between /o/ and RP /ə:/, by age-group (5.6)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/o/	8.5	39.5	8.3
/ə/	38.0	25.6	0.0
/ə:/	53.5	34.9	91.7
Tokens	71	43	36
Types	12	7	7

Graphic representation of Table 22: Percentage of /o/



had become identical, probably [ər], by about 1500. Retraction of [ə] to [ɔ] then took place, and /r/ was lost before dentals (7.23).

The e and u spellings of sherte (<OE scyrte), Will of R. Chapman of Egton (ClW 1557), and sturke (<Angl styrc), Will of M. Harland of Egton Bridge (ClW 1669), may indicate that ME /i/ had lost its original quality and become a centralized or central vowel before /r/. This change of quality seems to have taken place not only before /r/ but also next to labials, /ʃ/ and /tʃ/ to judge from the following e spellings in local 16th and 17th century wills: begger 'bigger', shefted 'shifted', spenynge (whele) 'spinning' Will of M. Ducke of Egton (ClW 1557); wedoheade 'widowhood' Will of Th. Sympson of Egton (ClW 1557); (Egton) Lordsheppe 'Lordship' Will of R. Smallwood of Egton (ClW 1575); chelder 'children' Will of Th. Petch (ClW 1616). Today there are no traces of this possible change of NME [ɪ] next to labials, /ʃ/ and /tʃ/. The rhyme curse/moss 545/46 in YoDial (1684) seems to show that ME /ur/ had reached the [ɔ] stage in the 17th century (5.37).

Table 22 shows the distribution of traditional /o/, the encroaching RP /ə:/ and /ə/, which is a compromise between /o/ and RP /ə:/. /o/ is found in all the three age-groups (Old 8.5%, Mid 39.5%, Young 8.3%). Two male informants, JS and TS (3.2), are responsible for the /o/ tokens of the Mid and Young groups. The women of the same groups use only RP /ə:/. In spite of the fact that /o/ can still be heard in age-group Young, it is probable that it will

have disappeared in one or two generations. This also applies to /ə/, the use of which is on the decrease. Thus there are no /ə/ tokens in age-group Young.

5.6.1. < OE ir, rĭ

/o/: murk 'dark, muddy' (f.n.el.) Murk Mire Moor (5.46.3, 5.69.1, 7.23.1)

/o/~RP /ə:/: bird, her (8.12.3), third

/o/~RP /ə:/~/ə/: church, thirteen (Luick 1964, §379 Anm. 2), thirty

5.6.2. < OE yr

/o/~RP /ə:/: birth, stir v.

/o/~RP /ə:/~/ə/: first, thirsty

RP /ə:/: burden n., cf. birthin CMCo 27310; kernel

5.6.3. Of obscure origin.

/o/~RP /ə:/: fir

RP /ə:/: girl

5.7. NME /ix/ before /t/ has become /i:/. Thus it was levelled with the continuation of ME /e:/ (>Egton /i:/, 5.47). The loss of the spirant and the compensatory lengthening of the vowel took place before 1684 for the spellings in YoDial (1684), e.g. leet 264 'light' n., neet 267 'night', reet 237 'right', probably represent the present /i:/. Ellis (1889) records [i:] in light n., night, and right for Danby, 8 miles west of Egton (p. 528). /i:/ is also recorded by Cowling (1915) in words of this category (§148).

5.7.1. < Angl iht (smoothing of io, Campbell 1971, §222)

RP /ai/: sight

5.7.2. < Angl īht (smoothing of īo, Campbell 1971, §229), ī shortened before the consonant group ht (Luick 1964, §352)

RP /ai/: light v. 'set burning'

5.7.3. < OE yht

RP /ai/: flight, frighten

In some words /ei/ occurs beside /i:/. Angl eht usually became iht (Luick 1964, §274) and shared the development of ME /ixt/ to Egton /i:t/. It is probable, however, that e forms survived in Northern dialects (Baumann 1902, §154; Jordan 1968, §69). The /ei/ of the words below may therefore be derived from NME /ex/ in the following way: ME /ex/ + /t/ [ɛç]>[ɛɪç]>[ɛɪ] /ei/ + /t/ (cf. 5.15, 5.49). No /ei/ alternants were recorded by Cowling (1915) and SED (1962-63). Ellis (1889) has [ɛɪ] in right for Whitby, 7 miles east of Egton (p. 528).

5.7.4. < Angl eht (i-mutation of ea, Campbell 1971, §200 (3))

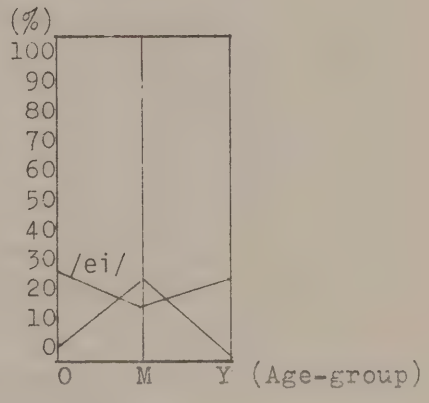
/i:/~/ei/~RP /ai/: night

5.7.5. < Angl eht (smoothing of eo, Luick 1964, §§237,274)
/i:/~/ei/~RP /ai/: right
5.7.6. < Angl ēht (smoothing of ēo, Luick 1964, §§237,275; Campbell 1971, §227), ē shortened before the consonant group ht (Luick 1964, §352)
/i:/~/ei/~RP /ai/: light 'not dark'

Table 23. Percentage of tokens (e.g. night, right) having /i:/, /ei/, and RP /ai/ by age-group (5.7)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/i:/	3.4	24.8	0.0
/ei/	27.3	15.8	25.0
/ai/	69.3	59.4	75.0
Tokens	88	101	48
Types	7	7	3

Graphic representation of Table 23: Percentage of /i:/ and /ei/



RP /ai/ is superseding /ei/ and /i:/. It is sometimes the only form. Table 23 shows that /ai/ is strongly represented in all the three age-groups, but more so in the Young group, which was to be expected. The women have only RP /ai/. /ei/ occurs more often than /i:/ in the Old and Young groups. Most of the /ei/ tokens (80%) of group Young are attributed to one male informant, TS (3.2, cf. 5.6). Another male, JS (3.2), answers for all the /i:/ tokens of group Mid (cf. 5.5.1, 5.6). Since there is no /i:/ in group Young, it may be concluded that /i:/ will have died out in a generation or so. /ei/, which is more evenly distributed among the informants of particularly age-groups Old and Mid, will probably survive /i:/, but not very long.

5.8-15. NME /e/

5.8. NME /e/ remains as /e/ (5.9-10).
Exceptions and RP/StE influence:
1. NME /e/ has been raised to /i/ in a small number of words, often before

dentals (5.12). /i/ is, however, being superseded by RP /e/ (5.13).

2. NME /er/ pre-consonantally or finally was levelled with NME /ar/ and has become /a:(r)/. In some words of French origin RP alternants are ousting /a:/ (5.14).
3. NME /ext/ has become /eit/. Analogy probably explains some /ait/ alternants while others are due to RP influence (5.15).

5.9. NME /e/ appears as /e/ in unconditioned position in the following words.

5.9.1. < Angl e (original or i-mutation of PrOE æ<WGmc a), eo

Bed n., bell n., belly, bend v., berry n., chest, cress, Delves pl.n. <OE (ge)delf 'an excavation where stone and minerals were obtained' (Smith I 1970, p. 128), cf. Delves Will of I. Pearson of Egton Bridge (ClW 1603); edge n., elbow n., eleven, else, end (also pl.n.el.) East End (cf. 5.54.2) Will of J. Chapman of Egton (ClW 1570); feather n., fell v., felly, fresh a., heavy, hedge n., hell, help, leather n. (7.7), length (7.10.2), Lent, melt v., neb 'beak', neck n., nest n., nettle, penny, reckon, -self (6.2, 7.26, 8.16), sell, selled 'sold' pret. (8.23.4), send, set v., seven, spend, step, stretch v., tell, telled 'told' pret. (8.23.4), thresh, twelve, weather n., well n., west (also pl.n.el.) Westonby House (5.71.1), cf. Westingebi (1254) 'farm of the western men' (Smith 1969, p. 130) and Westenbie Will of E. Barker of Egton (ClW 1628); whether, yeast n.

Note. StE sold /o:/ and told /o:/ occur beside selled and telled (8.23.4).

5.9.2. < ON e

Beck (7.28.1) 'brook', cleg 'horse-fly', egg (5.59, 7.13), elding 'firing, fuel', freckles pl., geld, guest, hazel (OED, Hazel[1]; Smith I 1970, hæsel p. 218) (also pl.n.el.) Hazel Head, cf. Hessell Heed Will of J. Helme of Egton (ClW 1587); ket 'rubbish', kettle, leg n., reckan 'pot-chain over fire', sleck (7.28.1) 'quench (fire)'

5.9.3. < OF (Lat) e

Apprentice n., debt, defend, desk, emery (6.6.2), event, fence n., intend, kennel, lesson, letter n., lettuce (6.16.3), measure, medicine (6.8) n., member, memory, mend v., nephew (6.12), November, pension, peril n., perish, pheasant (6.16.1), plenty n., present (6.13) a., record n., regular a., adv., remember (6.3.1), render 'melt fat', rent n., reptile, second num., sense n., sensitive, sentence, sentiment (6.13), separate (6.15.1) v., September, specify, spell v., terrible

5.9.4. < OE y

Bury, burial cf. beri CMCo 24553, berid CMCo 5483, beriing CMCo 1185 and beryd PrConsc 5216

5.9.5. < OE æ, a

/e/ (2x Old[1])~/a/ (rendering of RP /æ/): Saturday (6.10)<OE Sæternes (Seternes) dæȝ, cf. Seterdai CMCo 17673 and Setryday CathAngl (1483) p. 331

/e/ (2x Old, Mid)~RP /o/: wash v.<OE wæscan, wascan, cf. wesche CMCo 27547, CathAngl (1483) p. 415, one weshinge tube Will of E. Barker of Egton (ClW 1628)

Note. The /e/ of have (7.26, 8.25), then, and when mirrors the /e/ of the unstressed ME forms (cf. Wright 1962, §42. Note).

5.10. NME /e/ derived from Angl, ON ē, OE ǣ, ēo by shortening in compounds and before consonant groups, single consonants in trisyllabic words, and single final consonants, is represented by /e/. The shortening started in OE (Jordan 1968, §§23-4,27).

5.10.1. <Angl ē (WS ǣ)<WGmc ā

Breath, empty a., v., herring, let v., meadow, wet a.

5.10.2. <Angl ē<œ̄ (i-mutation of ō)

Bless, bred p.p., fed pret., met pret., p.p., Wednesday

5.10.3. <OE ēo

Breast n., devil 'wicked or wretched person', fell pret., friend (7.18.1-2), held pret., p.p.

5.10.4. <Angl ē from other sources

Heifer (Sievers & Brunner 1951, §218. Anm. 2), next, shepherd, ten, twenty

5.10.5. <ON é

Fellow

5.10.6. <OE ǣ (i-mutation of ā)

Errand, flesh n., lend, lent pret., p.p., mad a., meant pret.

Note. For /oni/~/eni/ 'any' see 5.17.1. Note.

5.11. /e/ also occurs in the following words of miscellaneous or obscure origin.[2]

[1]/e/ (2x Old) means that /e/ occurs twice in age-group Old (3.1-2).

[2]Words of miscellaneous or obscure origin a) have been found in ME but are derived from sources other than OE, ON, OF, Lat (e.g. sled), b) have been found in ME, but ulterior etymology is obscure (e.g. guess, smell), c) have not been found in ME, but etymology is certain or probable (e.g. skell-beast, smelt), d) have not been found in ME and etymology is obscure.

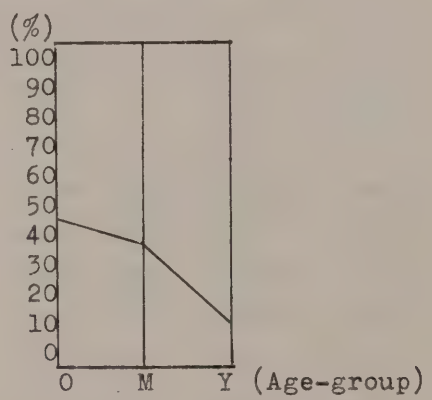
Guess v., skell-beast (5.58.2, 7.13, 7.28.2) 'partition in cow-stall', skelp 'beat, slap', sled n., smell n., smelt v. 'fuse ore', sneck 'door-latch'

5.12. NME /e/ has been raised to /i/ in a small number of words, often before dentals (cf. Jordan 1968, §34). Several examples of i spellings were found by Orton (1933, §§414-6) in lME and eModE Northern documents. In YoDial (1684) we find git 5, 9, 26, and gitten 21, 157, 200.

Table 24. Percentage of tokens (e.g. every, never, get (5.13), and together, yet (5.4.8-9)) having /i/ and RP /e/ by age-group

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/i/	47.0	38.9	12.8
/e/	53.0	61.1	87.2
Tokens	185	131	172
Types	14	8	10

Graphic representation of Table 24: Percentage of /i/



5.13. NME /e/ appears as /i/ in the words below, some of which have /e/ owing to RP influence. The distribution of the /i/ and /e/ tokens, to which have been added together (5.4.8, 7.6), yesterday (5.4.8, 6.10), yes (5.4.9, 8.10.3), and yet (5.4.9) (< NME /i/), is shown in Table 24. /i/ is in the minority in all the three age-groups. The percentage of /i/ has dropped from 47% in age-group Old to 12.8% in age-group Young. The female informants use only RP /e/. Most of the traditional forms of the Mid and Young age-groups are once again attributable to the males, JS and TS (3.2, cf. 5.7). Thus JS answers for about 90% of the /i/ tokens of group Mid and TS for all the /i/ tokens of group Young. There will probably be no traces of /i/ in a couple of generations.

5.13.1. < Angl e

/i/: six, cf. sex CMCo 2002, 7387, PrConsc 2708

/i/~RP /e/: rest n. 'repose', cf. rest CMCo 1007, 1079, PrConsc 3093, 6792, CathAngl (1483) p. 304; shell v., cf. nute-scell CMCo 23828, shelle CathAngl

(1483) p. 334

5.13.2. < OE ǣ, ēo shortened in trisyllabic forms (Luick 1964, §387)

/i/~RP /e/: devil 'wicked or wretched person', cf. deuylle CathAngl (1483) p. 98; ever, every (6.6.2), never (7.26), ready. The last four words have no ME i spellings according to OED.

5.13.3. < ON e

/i/: stiddy (7.5) 'anvil', cf. stęþi CMCo 23237

/i/~RP /e/: get, cf. gette CMCo 460

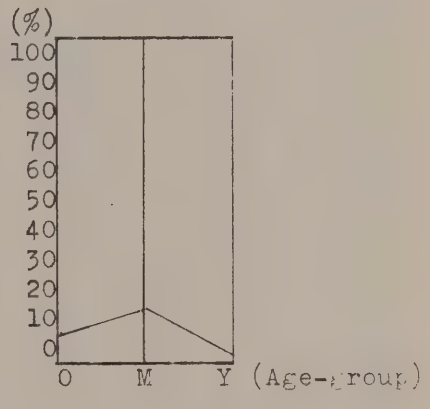
5.13.4. < OF e

/i/~RP /e/: engine (6.14) n., cf. engine CMCo 9889, CathAngl (1483) p. 115

Table 25. Percentage of tokens of French origin (e.g. certain, war) having /a:/ and RP alternants by age-group (5.14)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/a:/	7.3	14.2	0.0
Alternants	92.7	85.8	100
Tokens	41	28	36
Types	12	8	11

Graphic representation of Table 25: Percentage of /a:/



5.14. NME /er/ before a consonant or finally, which was levelled with ME /ar/ (5.24) by the 14th century (Luick 1964, §430), has become /a:(r)/ with loss of /r/ except in final position where /r/ is often retained (7.23.2). In words of French origin with RP alternants /a:/ is of rare occurrence (Table 25). The percentages of age-groups Old (7.3%) and Mid (14.2%) are attributable to only two male informants, TV and JS (3.2, cf. e.g. 5.13). RP alternants will presumably have superseded /a:/ in a generation or so.

5.14.1. < OE er, eor

Bark (of dogs) v., barm 'yeast', carve, dark, far adv., harbour n., heart, star n., start v., starve, tar n.

5.14.2. < OE ēor shortened
Darling, farthing
5.14.3. < ON er
Scar 'a rocky cliff' (pl.n.el.) Scar Wood (5.33.1)
5.14.4. < ON jar
Carr 'marshy ground' (pl.n.el.) Struntry Carr (5.34)
5.14.5. < OF er
/a:/: clerk, farm (5.22. Note), marvellous, parsley, parson, partridge
/a:/~RP /ə:/: certain, deserve, sermon n., servant, vermin
/a:/~RP /o:/: war n.
RP /ə:/: person, preserve (6.3.1) v., serve v., service (6.14) n.
Note. /a/ is retained before inter-vocalic /r/: farrier, /a/~RP /e/ very (6.9) adv.

5.15. NME /ex/ before /t/ has become /ei/. Angl eht usually became iht (Luick 1964, §274) and shared the development of ME /ixt/ to Egton /i:t/ (5.7), but it is likely that e forms survived in Northern dialects (Baumann 1902, §154; Jordan 1968, §69; cf. 5.7, 5.49). Cowling (1915) recorded [ɛi] in eight, straight, weight, but [ɪ:] in fight v. (§§148,177).
5.15.1. < Angl eht (i-mutation of ea, Luick 1964, §274. Anm. 2)
/ei/~RP /ai/: might pret. < Angl *mehte
5.15.2. < Angl eht (smoothing of eo, Luick 1964, §§237,274)
/ei/~RP /ai/: fight v. < Angl fehtan, cf. feghtand CMCo 5666 and feghte CathAngl (1483) p. 125
5.15.3. < Angl eht
/ei/~/ai/: eight < Angl *ehta (beside æhta > NME a(u)ghte) in analogy with Angl meht, neht (beside mæht, næht) (Jordan 1968, §§63-4; Dobson II 1968, §139), cf. eght 'eighth' PrConsc 4784; straight < Angl p.p. *ʒestreht with analogical e from the present stem of streccean (Sievers & Brunner 1951, §407. Anm. 2)
5.15.4. < PrON eht, éht
/ei/~RP /ai/: tight a., probably < eON *þéhtr (OED Thight, a.)
/ei/~/ai/: weight < PrON *veht (Jordan 1968, §96), cf. weght CMCo 28437, PrConsc 7690, CathAngl (1483) p. 412

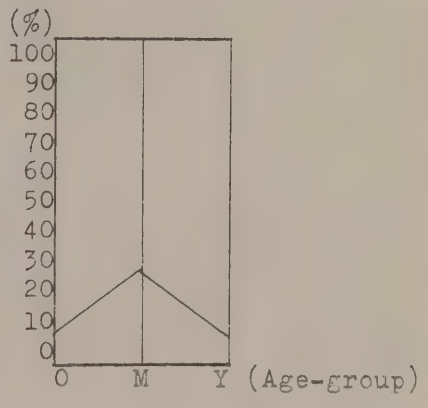
/ei/ is of rare occurrence in fight (1x Old), might v. (3x Old, 1x Mid), and tight (1x Old). It is being ousted by RP /ai/. Since /ei/ and /ai/ alternate in these words plus some others (5.7, 5.40-3), analogy probably explains the same alternation in eight, straight, and weight. Table 26 shows that /ai/

is more frequent in age-group Mid (29.3%) than in age-groups Old (9.5%) and Young (8.7%). In the Young group TS answers for all the /ai/ tokens and in the Mid group JS is responsible for 75% of the same tokens (cf. e.g. 5.13). The women use only /ei/, which is thus the traditional as well as the RP form. /ai/ will probably have been superseded by /ei/ in eight, straight, and weight in one or two generations.

Table 26. Percentage of tokens (eight, straight, weight) having /ei/ and /ai/ by age-group (5.15)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/ai/	9.5	29.3	8.7
/ei/	90.5	70.7	91.3
Tokens	84	41	23
Types	3	3	2

Graphic representation of Table 26: Percentage of /ai/



5.16-25. NME /a/

5.16. NME /a/ appears as /a/ (5.17-8, 5.20-2).
Exceptions and RP/StE influence:

1. RP /æ/ is of rare occurrence (5.17, 5.19).
2. RP /ei/ and its Egton substitutes /e:/ and /e/ are ousting /a/ in make, shake, and take (5.18).
3. RP /o/ is much more frequent than /a/ before /ŋ/ in words such as long and strong (5.20).
4. /a/ before /f/, /θ/, /s/ in words like staff, bath, and fast is almost completely unaffected by RP /a:/ (5.21).
5. RP /o/ has almost superseded /a/ after /w/ in e.g. want and what (5.22)
6. /o:/ in e.g. all and cold is derived from NME /al/ pre-consonantally or finally. /l/ has been reintroduced from RP/StE to a great extent (5.23).
7. /a:/ in e.g. arm and car is the representative of NME /ar/ pre-consonantally or finally. ME /r/ has been preserved only in final position to a certain

extent (5.24).
8. /o:/ in fought, ought, and taught is derived from NME /ax/ (5.25).

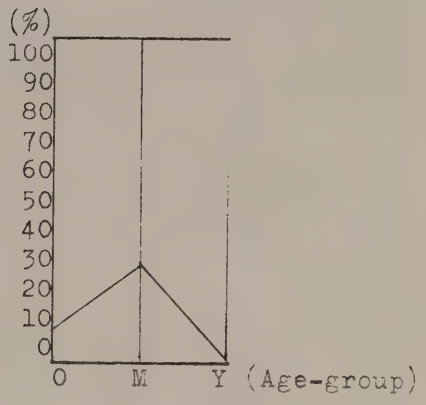
5.17. NME /a/ appears as /a/ in unconditioned position in the following words, most of which have /æ/ in RP. [æ] occurs very seldom in Egton (4.7).
5.17.1. < Angl æ, a, a/o, ea (< WGmc a)
Abbot (6.16.2), anchor n., answer, apple, ash(es) (7.20, 8.6.1), axe n., back adv., n., back(er)-end (8.9.1) 'autumn', bad, black a., blacksmith, brant a., 'steep', can n., v., cancer, candle (7.18.2), cap v. 'surprise', cat n., father n., gallowses (8.7) 'braces', gave (7.26) pret., ham, hammer n., hand (7.18.1) n., handle n., hat n., lamb n., land n., /lat/ lath, latter comp., man n., marrow (6.11), (door-)mat, match n. 'contest', narrow a., paddock, pan n., plant, rat n., sack 'bag' n., 'dismiss' v., saddle, sand n., sparrow (6.11), stand (7.18.1) v., thank, thatch v.
Note. /o/ occurs in many (OE moniȝ, maniȝ) and, analogically, in any (OE ǣniȝ) (Jordan 1968, §§48. Anm. 3,268). The alternating /e/ of any is presumably RP.
5.17.2. < OE ā, ǣ, ēa shortened before consonant groups, single consonants in trisyllabic words, and in compounds (Luick 1964, §§352, 353 + Anm. 1)
Chap 'man', fat a., n., fatten, lapwing, lather n., tadpole
5.17.3. < ON a, o
Ankle, bank 'slope' n., flag 'flagstone', flat a., gap, hagworm 'adder', hank 'skein', happen v., happy, scrap n., stack
/a/~RP /o/: got pret.
5.17.4. < OF (Lat, It) a
Abbey, apron, barrel (6.13) n., barren a., cabbage, carriage, carry, catch (8.24.5) v., cattle, fact, family, graft v., gravel (6.13) n., hamlet (6.13), jacket (6.13) n., lavender (6.6.1) n., manage, marry, matter, mechanical (6.3.1), natural a., parish, satisfaction, satisfy, scan v., spasm, track, travel (6.15.2)
5.17.5. < OF a + nasal belonging to the same syllable (Luick 1964, §414.2) has been levelled with native /a/ in the same position (Dobson 1968, I p. 27, II §62; Wyld 1947, §184).
Advantage (6.15.1) n., ancestor, aunt, branch n., canker n., chance n., dance, example (6.3.1), grand a., grant, lamp, ransom n., strangle (6.13)

5.18. OE and ON a in open syllables before a voiceless stop became NME /a:/ (> Egton /iə/, 5.58.4-5), but in the words below the vowel was never length-

Table 27. Percentage of tokens (make, shake, take) having /a/, RP /ei/ and its substitutes /e/, /e:/ by age-group (5.18)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/a/	9.4	29.5	0.0
/e/	73.7	56.8	18.8
/e:/	9.4	0.0	43.7
/ei/	7.5	13.7	37.5
Tokens	53	44	48

Graphic representation of Table 27: Percentage of /a/



ened in NME and the result was Egton /a/. In Northumbrian, variants with geminated /p/, /t/, /k/ occurred in strong verbs, e.g. -ʒeatta, sceacca, wæcca (Sievers & Brunner 1951, §§92. 2d, 229. Anm. 3, 417. Anm. 8), which developed into gett (5.13.3), schak, wack in NME, while nouns of the same type developed long vowels, e.g. ME cāke (Luick 1964, §391. Anm. 2). Cf. mak CMCo 87, schak CMCo 26045, tak CMCo 568, and mack YoDial (1684) 4, 112, tack YoDial (1684) 104, 281.

RP /ei/ and its Egton substitutes /e:/ and /e/ are encroaching on the use of /a/ (Table 27). There are no /a/ tokens in age-group Young and one male informant, JS again (cf. e.g. 5.15), is responsible for 92% of the /a/ tokens (29.5%) of group Mid. /e/, which may be said to be a compromise between traditional /a/ and the Egton substitute /e:/ for RP /ei/, is strongly represented in age-groups Old and Mid, but is losing ground to /e:/ and /ei/ in group Young. The women have a large percentage of RP /ei/ (75% Mid, 100% Young). In a couple of generations there may be no traces of /a/ and /e/ in words of this category, but /e:/ will probably still be heard in spite of the pressure from RP /ei/.

5.18.1. <OE a, ea

/a/: shoemaker

/a/~/e/~/e:/~RP /ei/: make v.

/a/~/e:/~RP /ei/: shake (8.23.3) v.

5.18.2. <ON a

/a/: intack 'enclosed piece of moorland', uptack 'comprehension'

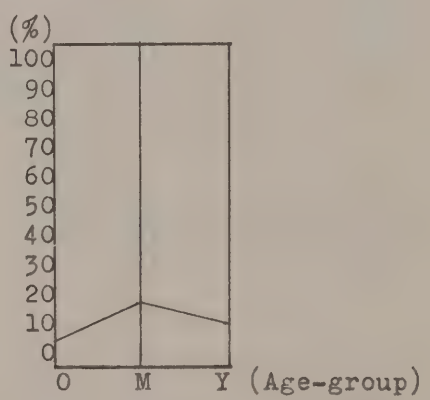
/a/~/e/~/e:/~RP /ei/: take v.
/a/~/e:/: mistake

5.19. /a/ occurs in unconditioned position in the following words of obscure or miscellaneous origin (cf. 5.11. Foot-note 2).
Bag n., brag v., crab(apple), flash v., fratch v. 'quarrel', school-gaffer 'schoolteacher', harrow, lack n., lad, pack n., pal 'friend', patch n., rabbit (6.13) n., randy 'unruly, unmanageable' (OED Randy, a., sb.) (f.n.el.) Randy Mere (5.24.2), scatter, scratch v., slag n., stamp v., tanner 'a sixpence'

Table 28. Percentage of tokens (belong, long, prong, strong, wrong) having /a/ and RP /o/ by age-group (5.20)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/a/	7.1	18.9	12.5
/o/	92.9	81.1	87.5
Tokens	28	37	24
Types	4	5	3

Graphic representation of Table 28: Percentage of /a/



5.20. NME /a/ before /ŋ/ remains as /a/. Thus there was no rounding (Luick 1964, §110), and if there ever was lengthening (Luick 1964, §268), the vowel was shortened again when final [ŋg] became [ŋ] (Luick 1964, §429.1).

Table 28 shows that /a/ does not occur very often. It is remarkable that /a/ is more frequent in age-group Young (12.5%) than in group Old (7.1%). All the /a/ tokens of age-group Young are, however, attributable to one male informant, TS (cf. e.g. 5.15). In the Mid group JS (cf. e.g. 5.18) answers for 90% of the /a/ tokens (18.9%). The women have only RP /o/. Traditional /a/ cannot probably hold its ground against RP /o/ for more than one or two generations.

5.20.1. < OE a/o

/a/: sang pret., throng a. 'busy'

/a/~RP /o/: belong (8.26.4), long a., strong(er)

/a/~/o/: among

/a/ gan v. (< OE ʒanʒan~ʒonʒon, cf. 7.10.3)~/o:/ (substitute for RP /əʊ/) go v.

Note. Since traditional /a/ and RP /o/ alternate in most words of this category, analogy probably explains the /o/ of among.

5.20.2. < ON a

/a/~RP /o/: wrong a.

Note. The following words are of obscure origin and cannot be placed under 5.20.1-2 (cf. 5.11. Foot-note 2).

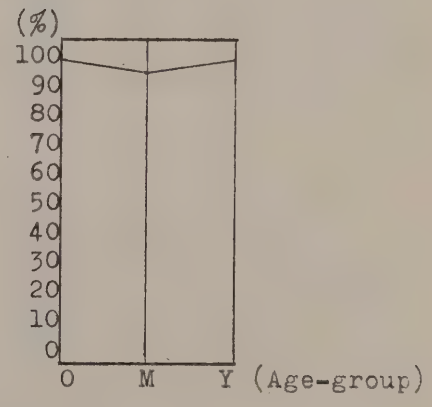
/a/: bang n.

/a/~RP /o/: prong n.

Table 29. Percentage of tokens (e.g. bath, fast, staff) having /a/ and RP /a:/ before /θ/, /s/, /f/ by age-group (5.21)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/a/	100	96.6	100
/a:/	0.0	3.4	0.0
Tokens	80	59	84
Types	27	19	22

Graphic representation of Table 29: Percentage of /a/



5.21. There has been no lengthening of NME /a/ before the voiceless fricatives /f/, /θ/, /s/ pre-consonantally or finally. In age-group Mid /a:/ [a:] occurs twice in plaster with a male informant (Table 29). It is attributable to RP influence. It is probable that /a/ in this position will withstand RP /a:/ for several generations.

5.21.1. < Angl æ, a; ǣ, ā shortened

Ask (7.20), bass 'bark used for baskets', bath n., blast v., brass, chaff n., chaffinch, craft, daft 'foolish', fast a., fasten, glass n., last a., path,

plaster, shaft, staff n.

Note. /laf/ 'laugh' is derived from INME /lax/<Angl *hlæhan (Campbell 1971, §200 (3). Foot-note 1).

5.21.2. < ON a

Bask v., cast v.

5.21.3. < (O)F a

Bastard, castle n., pass n., passage, pasture n., pasty n., rascal n. (6.15.2)

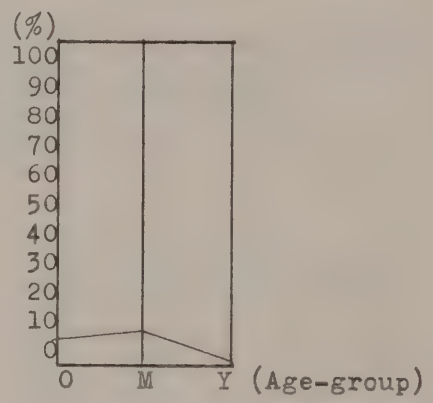
5.21.4. Of obscure or miscellaneous origin (cf. 5.11. Foot-note 2).

Basket (6.13) n., gasp v., lass (8.7) 'girl', nasty (6.9)

Table 30. Percentage of tokens (e.g. want, what) having /a/ and RP /o/ after /w/ by age-group (5.22)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/a/	7.1	9.5	0.0
/o/	92.9	90.5	100
Tokens	92	76	76
Types	8	6	5

Graphic representation of Table 30: Percentage of /a/



5.22. NME /a/ has not been rounded after /w/ in the traditional Egton dialect. /a/ is, however, of rare occurrence. Table 30 shows that it is being superseded by RP /o/ in most of the words recorded. There are no /a/ tokens in age-group Young. JS (cf. e.g. 5.20) answers for all the /a/ tokens of group Mid. There will probably be no traces of /a/ in the words below except in swang and wagon in a generation or so.

5.22.1. < OE æ, a

/a/: wander, wattles 'sticks interlaced with twigs used for fences'

/a/~RP /o/: was pret. (8.23.1), watch v., what (8.18.1)

/a/~RP /o:/~/o/ (compromise between /a/ and RP /o:/): water (7.8, 7.23.2) n.

5.22.2. < ON a

/a/~RP /o/: want v.

5.22.3. < Lat a

/a/~RP /o/: quarry 'place from which stone is got'

Note. The following words of obscure or miscellaneous origin cannot be placed under 5.22.1-3 above (cf. 5.11. Foot-note 2).

/a/: swang 'a low-lying piece of ground liable to be flooded' (OED Swang, sb.) (pl.n.el.) Swang Farm (5.14.5), cf. Swang Will of Th. Yeaman of Egton (ClW 1693); swap v., wagon (6.13)

Table 31. Percentage of tokens (cold, fold, hold, old, scald) having /l/-lessness and RP /l/ by age-group (5.23)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/l/-lessness	34.0	60.0	14.3
/l/	66.0	40.0	85.7
Tokens	47	30	21
Types	5	3	2

Graphic representation of Table 31: Percentage of /l/-lessness

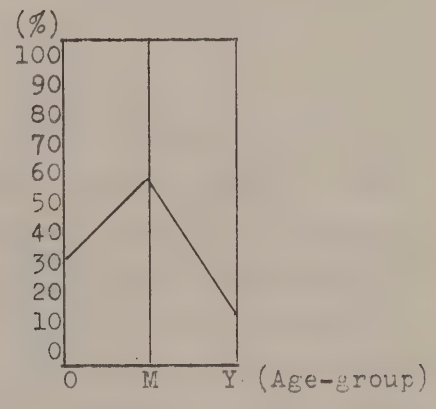


Table 32. Percentage of tokens (alter, malt, Malton, salt) having /o:lt/ and /olt/ by age-group (5.23.1 + Note 3, 5.23.3)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/o:lt/	33.3	16.6	- -
/olt/	66.7	83.4	- -
Tokens	15	6	- -
Types	4	2	- -

Graphic representation of Table 32: Percentage of /o:lt/

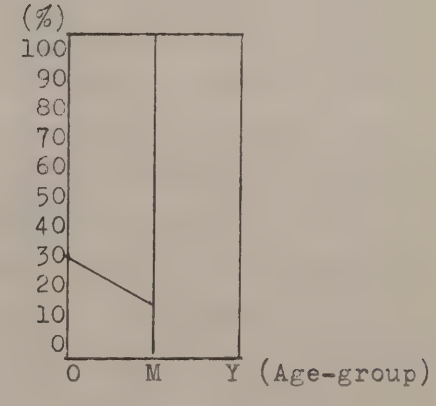
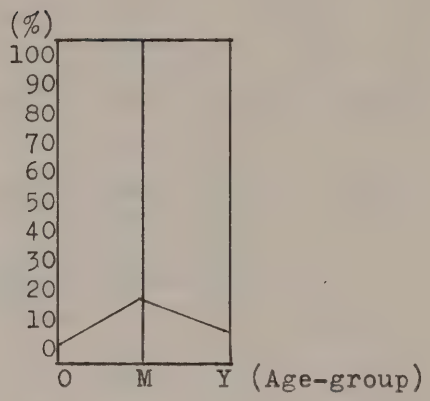


Table 33. Percentage of tokens (calf, half, salve) having /o:/ and RP /a:/ by age-group (5.23.1 + Note 2)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/o:/	4.0	18.1	8.3
/a:/	96.0	81.9	91.7
Tokens	25	22	12
Types	3	3	2

Graphic representation of Table 33: Percentage of /o:/



5.23. It is probable that the regular development of NME /al/ finally and before a consonant was to /o:/. The /l/ of some of the words below seems to be due to RP influence. In final position /o:l/ is the rule. The only exception is all, in which /o:/ (4x; 28.5%) was found beside /o:l/ (10x, 71.5%) in age-group Old. Ellis (1889) recorded [ɔ:] in call (p. 520), all, cold, old, and wall (p. 527), which shows that the present /l/ is a fairly recent restoration. Development: NME /al/ [ɑɬ]>[ɑωɬ]>[ɑω]>[ɑ:]>[ɔ:] /o:/. An [ω]-glide thus developed between [ɑ] and [ɬ]. The vowel and the glide formed a diphthong, the second element of which absorbed the [ɬ] in the North by the 15th century (Luick 1964, §§502-3; Orton 1933, §399). In Egton as well as in most Northern dialects (Orton 1933, §§396,398) the new /au/ (<ME /al/) shared the further development of older NME /au/ (<OE ă̆ʒ, ă̆w) to /o:/ (5.81-2).

Table 31 shows the percentages of /l/-less cold, fold, hold, old, and scald. /l/-less tokens are much more frequent in age-group Mid (60%) than in group Old (34%). JS bears the responsibility for most of them (88.9%) in group Mid (cf. e.g. 5.22). The small percentage of /l/-less tokens in the Young group (14.3%) is attributable to TS (cf. e.g. 5.20). The female informants have only /l/ tokens, which will probably have ousted the /l/-less all, cold, fold, hold, old, and scald in one or two generations.

5.23.1. <Angl al

/o:/~/o:l/: all, fold n. (7.21.1)

/o:/~/o:l/~/oul/: cold, old (7.21.1)

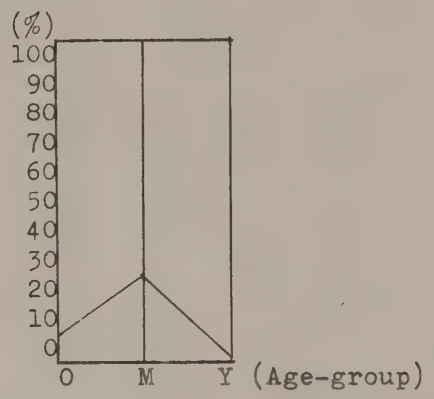
/o:/~RP /a:/: calf 'young of cow', half
/o:l/ ~ /ol/: malt, Malton, salt
/o:/: balk n., chalk n., stalk v., talk, walk
/o:l/: fall v., hall, stall 'compartment in stable', wall n.
RP /a:/: salve n.
Notes:
1. /oul/ is an approximation to RP /əʊl/ or eStE (cf. 4.24, 5.63.2. Note).
2. The /a:/ of calf, half, and salve is due to RP influence. It is ousting /o:/ (Table 33), which is more frequent in age-group Young (8.3%) than in age-group Old (4%). TS alone is responsible for the percentage of /o:/ tokens in the Young group and JS for all the /o:/ tokens in group Mid (18.1%). Because of the small number of tokens the percentages may be unrepresentative, but there will probably be no traces of /o:/ in these words in two generations.
3. /olt/ in malt, Malton, and salt is probably a borrowing from eStE (Luick 1964, §527.1; Wright 1924, §102.2). /olt/ and /o:lt/ also alternate in RP (Gimson 1973, 7.15 (3); Jones 1960). Cf. YoDial (1684) sawt 231 and Marshall (1788) maut, Mauton, presumably [ɔ:], used by "the lower class", and molt, Molton, apparently [ɔl], used by "the superior class of provincialists" (p. 311). In the words above plus alter (5.23.3) /ol/ is in the majority in age-groups Old (66.7%) and Mid (83.4%). It is even used by one of the women of group Mid. Since there are no tokens in the Young group and very few in the other groups, the future development is unpredictable (Table 32).
4. Shortening of the vowel occurs in /óməst/ 'almost' (6.18) and /od/ 'hold' v. (8.23.3). Cf. YoDial (1684) hawd 234, probably [ɔ:], but Marshall (1788) hod, apparently [ɔ] (p. 311).
5. The /l/ of /ó:ləz/(~RP /ó:lwəz/) 'always' (6.15.2, 6.18) may be traditional. It was retained because it came to stand between vowels after the loss of /w/ in unstressed position (7.27).

5.23.2. <ON al
/o:l/: call
5.23.3. Of French origin.
/ol/~/o:l/: alter
/o:/: scald (7.21.1) v.
Note. /ol/ is probably an eStE borrowing (cf. 5.23.1. Note 3).
5.23.4. Of obscure origin (cf. 5.11. Foot-note 2).
/o:l/: tall a.

Table 34. Percentage of tokens (were) having /a:/ and RP /ə:/ by age-group (5.24. Note)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/a:/	7.4	25.0	0.0
/ə:/	92.6	75.0	100
Tokens	27	28	24

Graphic representation of Table 34: Percentage of /a:/



5.24. In the NME group /ar/ before a consonant or finally /a/ has become /a:/ with loss of /r/ except in word-final where /r/ is often retained (cf. 5.14, 7.23).

5.24.1. < Angl (e)ar, ær (Jordan 1968, §§57-9)

/a:/: arm, barley (6.9), dare, hard, harm n., harvest n., mark v., sharp a., sharpen, spark n., tart a.

/a:/~RP /o:/: swarm n., towards, warm a.

Note. A variant /eə/ was recorded in arm. Only /eə/ was found in bairn 'child'. The /eə/ of these words is probably a borrowing from 17th or 18th century StE (Luick 1964, §550).

5.24.2. < ON ar, ār shortened in unstressed position

/a:/: cart n., garth (6.18, 7.28.3) 'enclosure, yard' (also pl.n.el.) Dowson Garth, mere 'fen' (f.n.el.) Randy Mere (5.19)

/a:/~RP /ə:/: were (< ON plural várum, -uþ, -u; cf. war CMCo 1258, PrConsc 2770 and warre CMCo 2332) (8.23.1)

Note. /wa:r/ 'were' may also be descended from Angl wēron.

5.24.3. < (O)F ar

/a:/: argue (6.12), army, bar v., car, charge v., compare v., garden, garment (6.13) n., harness (6.15.2) n., lard n., March, market (6.13) n., park n., pl. n.el. Julian Park, scar (of wound) n., scarlet a.

/a:/~RP /o:/: quarter n. 'fourth part'

Note. /a:/ in quarter (2x Old, Mid), swarm (1x Mid), towards (1x Old), and warm (1x Old) is being ousted by RP /o:/.

The distribution of /a:/ and RP /ə:/ in were is shown in Table 34. There are no /a:/ tokens in age-group Young, but /a:/ is more frequent in group Mid (25%) than in group Old (7.4%). Again, JS of group Mid answers for the traditional form to a great extent (71.4%). Even one of the women of the same group uses /a:/ once (14.3%). Owing to the absence of /a:/ in the last-mentioned words in the Young group it may be concluded that /a:/ will not be found in these words in a generation or so (cf. 5.14).

5.25. NME /ax/ before /t/ has become /o:/, which also represents late NME /au/ from /al/ (5.23) and older NME /au/ (5.81-2).

The development of an [ɷ] glide between /a/ and /xt/ seems to have started in the 13th century but was not carried through consistently for /au/ and /a/ alternated even in the 15th century (Jordan 1968, §129; Luick 1964, §403.2 + Anm. 1). The new diphthong was levelled with older NME /au/ (5.81-2) and the fricative was lost.

5.25.1. <Angl æht (Sievers & Brunner 1951, §388. Anm. 3)
/o:/: fought pret., cf. faght CMCo 148, 3446
5.25.2. <Angl āht (Sievers & Brunner 1951, §§407. Anm. 4, 420. Anm. 3), ā shortened before the consonant group ht (cf. Luick 1964, §352)
/o:/: taught pret., p.p., cf. taght CMCo 741
/o:/~/au/: ought v., cf. aght CMCo 267, PrConsc 1831
Notes:
1. Since /au/ and /o:/ alternate in words like bought, brought, and thought (5.31), analogy probably explains the same alternation in ought.
2. /af/ in /laftər/ 'laughter' (<Angl hlæhtor) is probably due to analogy with /laf/ 'laugh' (5.21.1. Note).

5.26-31. NME /o/

5.26. NME /o/ remains as /o/ (5.27, 5.30).
Exceptions and RP/StE influence:
1. NME /ol/ pre-consonantally or finally has become /au/. In final position it is also represented by /aul/ with /l/ probably reintroduced from RP (5.29).
2. RP /o:/ is ousting traditional /or/ < NME /or/ pre-consonantally or finally (5.30).
3. NME /ox/ before /t/ has developed into /au/, which is being superseded by RP /o:/ (5.31).

5.27. NME /o/ appears as /o/ in unconditioned position in the following words.

5.27.1. < OE o

Body, borrow (6.11), bottom n., box 'case', /brok(ən)/ (8.23.5, 8.24.2) 'broken', broth, cock 'male bird', copper n., crop 'harvest', dog, drop v., fodder, follow (6.11), fox n., frost, gospel (Luick 1964, §204.1 + Anm. 1), gossiper, hollin 'holly' (pl.n.el.) Hollins, cf. Hollin Hill Will of J. Simpson of Egton Bridge (C1W 1690); hollow a., knock, knotty, lock, losted (8.24.6) 'lost' p.p., lot n., off, offal (6.16.1), often, on (7.22.1, 8.26.2), pot n., shot n., sock 'short stocking', stop, top n.

5.27.2. < OE ō shortened in compounds and before consonant groups

Nobbut (6.18, 8.10.2) 'only', soft

Note. /kom/ com 'came' is probably a shortening of OE cōm (8.23.6). The occurrence of the ON preterite kom may have facilitated this development (Brunner II 1962, p. 235).

5.27.3. < ON o

Cross n., loft n., lop 'flea', odd a., rotten

5.27.4. < OF (Lat) o

Accomplish, bonnet n., clock n., coffin n., collar, common, copy n., cost, costed (8.23.4) 'cost' pret., foreign, forest (6.13) n., modernize, ostler, polish v., porridge, pottery (6.9), problem, profit (6.14) n., promise, proper, prosperous, robbery (6.6.2), scholar 'one who goes to school', sock 'ploughshare', socket (6.13) n., solid a.

5.28. The following words, which are of obscure or miscellaneous origin and in unconditioned position, also contain /o/ (cf. 5.11. Foot-note 2).

Bob 'shilling' (8.6.2), bog n., bother v., cobbler, (hay)cock, cog n., shop

5.29. NME /ol/ pre-consonantally or finally has become /au/. In final position it is also represented by /aul/ with /l/ probably reintroduced from StE (Orton 1933, §402). /ol/ was levelled with NME /ou/ (5.83). Development: NME /ol/ [ɔɬ] >[ɔʊɬ] >[ɔʊ]>[ɒʊ]>[ɑʊ]~[aʊ] /au/. The [ʊ]-glide that developed between /o/ and /l/ in the 15th century thus absorbed the [ɬ] (Luick 1964, §502).

Orton (1933, §§404,406) found ou/ow spellings for ME /ol/ in 15th and 16th century documents from North-East England. YoDial (1684) has ow in bowl 402 and stown 'stolen' 190. Cowling (1915, §117) recorded [ɔu]. The present Egton [ɑʊ] and [aʊ] seem to have developed in the last hundred years.

/o:/ and /ou/, the Egton substitutes for RP /əʊ/, were not recorded in the

words below. It is, however, probable that they are much more frequent than /au/ in words of this category. /au/ was found only once or twice in each word.

5.29.1. < OE ol

/au/: mouldy-warp 'mole', stolen p.p. (7.21.2)

/au/~/aul/: bowl 'vessel to hold liquids' (7.21.2)

5.29.2. < ON ol

/au/: holme 'water-meadow' (f.n.el.) Brigholme (7.21.2)

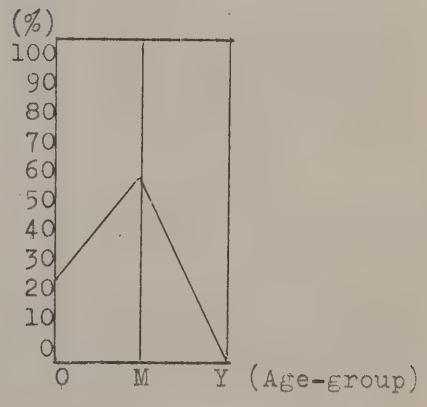
5.29.3. < OF ol

/aul/: roll v.

Table 35. Percentage of tokens (e.g. fork, storm) having /or/ and RP /o:/ by age-group (5.30)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/or/	26.5	60.0	0.0
/o:/	73.5	40.0	100
Tokens	34	20	18
Types	11	6	5

Graphic representation of Table 35: Percentage of /or/



5.30. The NME group /or/ pre-consonantally or finally remains as /or/ in a few words. Cowling (1915) recorded [or] in for, fork, and storm (§119). Table 35 shows that /or/ is more frequent in age-group Mid (60%) than in age-group Old (26.5%), which is once again due to JS's broadness of accent. He answers for 83.3% of the /or/ tokens of group Mid (cf. e.g. 5.24. Note). The women have only RP /o:/, which will probably supersede /or/ in a generation or so, since no /or/ tokens have been found in the Young group.

5.30.1. < OE or

/or/~RP /o:/: for, fork (7.23.1), storm (7.23.1) n.

RP /o:/: born p.p., corn 'any grain-bearing plant', former, forward n., adv., short, thorn

RP /o:/~/o/: horse n., north

Note. OE hors 'horse' and OE norð 'north' lost the /r/ in lME (Luick 1964, §772 b) and the result was /hos/ and /noθ/. /os/ and /noθ/ occur in age-groups Old (19x, 46.3%), Mid (1x, 20%), and Young (1x, 50%).

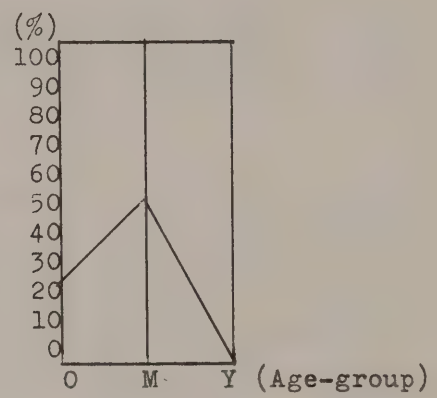
5.30.2. < ON or

RP /o:/: York(shire)

Table 36. Percentage of tokens (bought, brought, daughter, fought, ought, thought v.) having /au/ and RP /o:/ by age-group (5.31)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/au/	27.3	54.2	0.0
/o:/	72.7	45.8	100
Tokens	33	24	18
Types	6	5	4

Graphic representation of Table 36: Percentage of /au/



5.31. NME /ox/ before /t/ has become /au/, which also represents the further development of NME /ol/ (5.29) and NME /ou/ (5.83). Development: NME /oxt/ [ɔxt] > [ɔɑxt] > [ɔɑt] > [ɒɑt] > [ɑɑt] ~ [aɑt] /aut/. [ɔxt] was probably retained until the early ModE period when a glide developed between [ɔ] and [xt] (Jordan 1968, §129; Luick 1964, §403.2 + Anm. 5). Ellis (1889, pp. 527-8) and Cowling (1915, §§183-6) have [ɔu] in words of this category. [ɑɷ] and [aɷ] seem therefore to be fairly recent. They have probably developed in the last hundred years (cf. 5.29, 5.83).

RP /o:/ is the common substitute for /au/ except in aught and naught. Table 36 shows that there are no /au/ tokens in age-group Young. There is, however, a larger percentage of /au/ in group Mid (54.2%) than in group Old (27.3%). JS (cf. e.g. 5.30) is responsible for 91.7% of the /au/ tokens in group Mid while the rest, 8.3%, is attributable to a female informant. The percentages of traditional /au/ are approximatively the same as those of traditional /or/ (5.30). Thus there are only RP /o:/ tokens in the Young group, which may indicate that /au/ and /or/ will have fallen into disuse in a gen-

eration or so.

5.31.1. <OE oht

/au/~RP /o:/: bought pret., p.p. (6.13, 8.24.4), daughter

5.31.2. <OE ōht shortened

/au/: aught 'anything'<Angl ōht (Sievers & Brunner 1951, §344.3. Anm. 3), cf. oght CMCo 4144, PrConsc 10, 306, oghte CathAngl (1483) p. 259 (8.19.2); naught 'nothing'<Nhb nōht (Sievers & Brunner 1951, §348.2. Anm. 2), cf. noght CMCo 345, PrConsc 46, 2073 (8.19.2)

/au/~RP /o:/: brought pret., p.p., thought pret., p.p.

Note. Analogy with the preterites above may explain the /au/~(traditional) /o:/ alternation in ought v.<OE āhte (5.25.2, 5.25. Note 1).

5.32-38. NME /u/

5.32. NME /u/ remains as /u/ (5.33, 5.35).

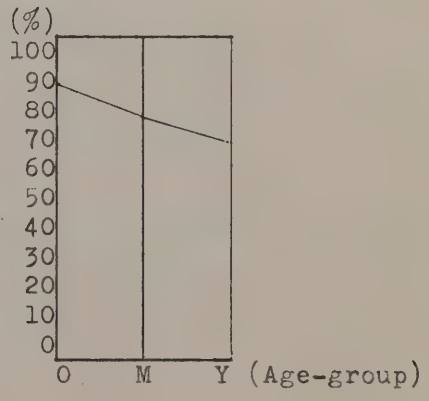
Exceptions and RP/StE influence:

1. [u] is being lowered and centralized owing to influence from RP /ʌ/, which results in /ə/ and /a/ [a] (cf. 4.9; 5.33).
2. RP /au/ is ousting /u/ before /nd/ (5.35).
3. NME /ul/ before a consonant appears as /u:/ in coulter and /u:l/ in shoulder. NME final /ul/ is represented by /ul/, probably owing to RP influence (5.36).
4. In the NME group /ur/, /u/ has become /o/. RP /ə:/ and, to a less extent, /ə/, a compromise between traditional /o/ and RP /ə:/, are the alternants (5.37).

Table 37. Percentage of tokens (e.g. come, husband) having /u/, /ə/, and /a/ [a] (= RP /ʌ/) by age-group (5.33)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/u/	92.0	80.5	71.7
/ə/	6.8	17.0	28.0
/a/	1.2	2.5	0.3
Tokens	250	200	300
Types	70	61	96

Graphic representation of Table 37: Percentage of /u/



5.33. NME /u/ remains as /u/ in unconditioned position. [u] is, however, undergoing a lowering and centralizing process owing to influence from RP /ʌ/ (4.9). Table 37 shows that /u/ is still in the majority in all the age-groups (Old 92.0%, Mid 80.5%, Young 71.7%) but is losing ground to /a/ [ɐ] (4.7) and particularly to /ə/ (Old 6.8%, Mid 17.0%, Young 28.0%; 4.10). The female informants of the Mid and Young groups have much larger percentages of /ə/ and /a/ (Mid 36%, Young 50%) than the males of the same groups (Mid 3%, Young 24%), which shows again (cf. e.g. 5.7, 5.13) that women are often in the vanguard as far as RP innovations are concerned. In spite of the clear trend towards an increase in the use of /ə/, /u/ (= RP /ʌ/) will probably remain in the dialect for several generations.

5.33.1. < OE u

/u/: bull 'male of ox', cud, drunk (8.23.2) pret., duck 'swimming-bird', grunt, guts pl. 'bowels', honey, hunger n., hunt, lung, put v. 'move into a certain place' (6.13, 8.23.4, 8.24.4), scuttle 'coal-box', stunk (8.23.2) pret., sun n., sung p.p., sup v. 'drink', thunder n., tusk n., won pret., wood (also pl.n. el.) Scar Wood (5.14.3)

/u/~/ə/: butter (6.13) n., cup n., drunkard, hundred, love v., some, somewhat 'something' (6.18, 7.27, 8.19.1), son, summer n., under prep., young (7.19)

/u/~/ə/~/a/: come (8.23.6), up adv., prep.

Note. The originally weak verbs ring (5.4.1) '(cause a bell) to sound' and stick (5.4.1) have become strong on the analogy of (probably) sing (5.4.1) in early ME (OED Ring, v.^{2}) and steek 'pierce' in the 16th century (OED Steek, v.^{2}): /ruŋ/ (8.23.2) pret., /stuk/ (8.23.2) pret.

5.33.2. < OE ū shortened in compounds and in unstressed position, before consonant groups and /x/ (>/f/), before /m/ and /v/ (Jordan 1968, §23; Luick 1964, §§354,389)

/u/: dust n., plum, rough a., shove v., thumb n.

/u/~/ə/: but conj., husband (7.18.1), us (8.13.2)

5.33.3. < OE y (y>u after /ʃ/, Luick 1964, §397)

/u/: shut, shuttle

5.33.4. < ON y (y>u after /m/, Luick 1964, §397)

/u/: muck n. 'farmyard manure'

5.33.5. < ON u

/u/: bush 'shrub', club 'association'

5.33.6. (O)F sources

/u/: brush, bucket (6.13), bullace (6.16.1), butcher (6.13) n., colour n.,

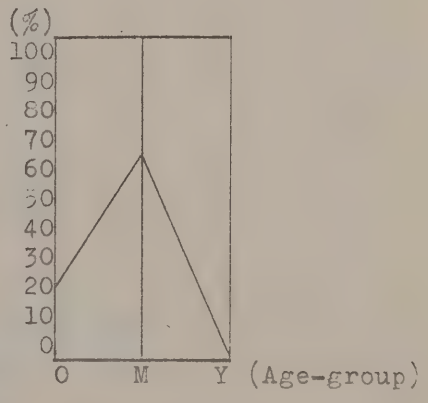
cover, double v., dungeon, governor (6.6.2), gutter v. 'drain', judge, mushroom n., mustard, plumber, public, publish, pullet, punish, push, stubble, stuff n., sum n., uncle
/u/~/ə/: butler, country, cousin (6.14), dozen, front n., a., just adv., money, sudden (6.15.2) a., supper, trouble
/u/~/a/: number

5.34. /u/ and /ə/ also occur in unconditioned position in the following words of obscure or miscellaneous origin (cf. 5.11. Foot-note 2).
/u/: bud, bump v., bun, cuff n., cut (8.23.4, 8.24.5) v., husk n., luck, lug 'ear, organ of hearing', mutter v., puzzle out 'make out solution', rut n., scuffler n. 'hoe', struntry (?<ON stutt-r <*stunt-r 'short', OED Stunt, a.) (pl.n.el.) Struntry Carr (5.14.4), stubborn, (mig)sump 'cess-pool'
/u/~/ə/: pump, rubbish n., struggle

Table 38. Percentage of tokens (e.g. pound) having /u/ and RP /au/ before /nd/ by age-group (5.35)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/u/	23.1	66.7	0.0
/au/	76.9	33.3	100
Tokens	26	12	10
Types	7	3	3

Graphic representation of Table 38: Percentage of /u/



5.35. NME /u/ remains before the lengthening group /nd/. All vowels before /nd/ were short or became shortened in the late 12th and the early 13th centuries in the northern dialects (Wright 1962, §73). Table 38 shows, however, that /au/ is the common alternant owing to RP influence. JS, again (cf. e.g. 5.31), is responsible for the large percentage of /u/ in age-group Mid (66.7%) while the /u/ tokens are more evenly distributed in age-group Old (23.1%). Since there are no /u/ tokens in age-group Young, it is to be assumed that /u/ (= RP /au/)

will have disappeared in words of this category in a generation or so.

5.35.1. < OE und

/u/: bound (7.18.2, 8.24.3) p.p., grounds 'dregs' (7.18.2), wonderful (6.16.3)

/u/~RP /au/: found (7.18.2, 8.24.3) p.p., ground n., pound '100 pence, 16 ounces' (8.6.2)

/u:/~RP /au/: hound

/u:/: wounded p.p.

RP /au/: sound 'healthy', wound p.p.

Note. /u:/ in hound may have been confused with /u/ and regarded as an alternant because Egton /u:/ (< ME /u:/) and Egton /u/ before /nd/ (< ME /u/) both correspond to RP /au/. /u:/ in wounded is a borrowing from RP.

5.36. NME /ul/ before a consonant appears as /u:/ in coulter and as /u:l/ in shoulder with /l/ probably reintroduced from RP. It was thus levelled with NME /u:/ (5.70-1). Development: NME /ul/ [ʊl]>[ʊul]>[u:l]>[u:] /u:/ (Orton 1933, §407).

/ul/ finally probably developed in the same way as before a consonant (Orton 1933, §407). Today, however, NME final /ul/ is represented by /ul/ owing to RP influence, which was also the case in Hackness at the beginning of this century (Cowling 1915, §120). Hedevind (1967, 4:45:1), on the other hand, recorded [pəu] 'pull' and [wəu] 'wool' for Dentdale in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

5.36.1. < OE ul

/u:/: coulter (7.21.3)

/u:l/: shoulder n.

/ul/: full a., pull, wool

Note. /sud/ (7.4)(~RP /ʃud/) 'should' (< Angl sculde, cf. suld CMCo 410, 461, PrConsc 3705, sud YoDial (1684) 313, 525) and, analogically, /kud/ 'could' (< OE cūðe, cf. koud CMCo 1566) may have had the same development as coulter with a later shortening of [u:] in unstressed position.

5.36.2. Of obscure origin (cf. 5.11. Foot-note 2)

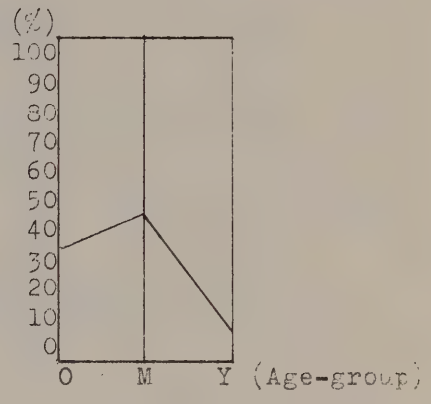
/ul/: (sea-)gull

5.37. In the NME group /ur/ /u/ has become /o/, which is also the representative of /i/ in the NME group /ir/ pre-consonantally and finally. The levelling of /u/ and /i/ took place at the [ə] stage by about 1500 according to Orton (1933, §412). [ə] was retracted to [ɔ], and /r/ was lost before dentals (5.6,

Table 39. Percentage of tokens (e.g. Thursday, worse) having /o/, RP /ə:/, and /ə/, a compromise between /o/ and RP /ə:/, by age-group (5.37)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/o/	37.0	47.4	8.9
/ə:/	51.1	51.3	91.1
/ə/	11.9	1.3	0.0
Tokens	92	78	90
Types	25	20	23

Graphic representation of Table 39: Percentage of /o/



7.23).

/ə/ was heard occasionally (Old 11.9%, Mid 1.3%) in some of the words of this category (Table 39). It is probably a compromise between traditional /o/ and RP /ə:/. /o/ was found not only in age-group Old (37%) but also in the younger groups. All the /o/ tokens of the Young group (8.9%) and most (94.6%) of them (47.4%) in the Mid group are, however, attributable to the male informants TS and JS (cf. e.g. 5.23). The women use only RP /ə:/, which will presumably have ousted /o/ and /ə/ in one or two generations.

5.37.1. <OE ur, or (or>ur after labials, Luick 1964, §§286.3,379), yr (wyr >wur, Luick 1964, §286.2)

/o/: borough (also pl.n.el.) High Burrows (5.49.1), furrow n., murder

/o/~/ə/~RP /ə:/: Thursday, work (7.23.1), worm (6.17, 7.23.1) n., worse, worth a.

/o/~RP /ə:/: further a., purse n., turn v., word n., worst

5.37.2. (O)F sources

/o/: urchin 'hedgehog'

/o/~RP /ə:/: fur n., furnace, furniture, hurt v., journey n., nurse n.

RP /ə:/: curb n., murmur (6.16.3) v., purpose n., return (6.3.1) v., surgery (6.6.2)

5.38. The following words of obscure origin also occur with /o/ (cf. 5.11. Foot-note 2).

/o/: bur-tree 'elder', turnip (6.14)

/o/~RP /ə:/: cur

5.39-73. Northern Middle English Long Vowels (Contents p. 42)

5.39. Table 40 shows the late NME long vowel phonemes in stressed syllables (cf. Brunner I 1960, p. 253; Dobson II 1968, Chapter VII, Part 2), their modern Egton representatives, and RP/StE influence.

Table 40. NME long vowel phonemes in stress, their modern Egton representatives, and RP/StE influence (5.39)

NME	Traditional Egton[1]	RP/StE influenced Egton[1]	Chapter
/i:/ [ɪ:] finally	/ai/ [aɪ]	- -[2]	5.40-1 5.43
/i:/ before a voiceless consonant	/ei/ [ɛɪ]	/ai/ (e.g. knife)	5.40-3
/i:/ before a voiced consonant	/a:/ [a:]	/ai/ (e.g. time)	5.40-3 5.45
/i:r/	?[3]	/aiə/ (e.g. fire)	5.46
/e:/ [e:] unconditioned	/i:/ [ɪi]	- -	5.47-8
/e:x/	/i:/, /ei/	/ai/ (e.g. die v.)	5.49
/e:r/	/iə/ [ɪə], finally often /iər/	/eə/ [ɛə] (there) /ə:/ (heard)	5.50
/ɛ:/ [ɛ:] unconditioned	/iə/	/i:/ (e.g. meat), /e/ (e.g. dead), /ei/ (e.g. chain); /e:/ substitute for RP /ei/ or eStE (e.g. break)	5.51-4

[1]The phonetic notation refers to the norm variants (cf. Chapter 4).
[2]Blanks in the "RP/StE influenced Egton" column mean that the traditional Egton development corresponds to that of RP/StE.
[3]A question-mark in the "Traditional Egton" column means that it is not quite clear if a recorded form is traditional Egton or RP/StE.

NME	Traditional Egton	RP/StE influenced Egton	Chapter
/ɛ:r/	/iə/, finally often /iər/	- -	5.55
/a:/ [a:] medially and finally	/iə/	/ei/ (e.g. same), /u:/ (e.g. two), /o:/ (e.g. broad); /o:/, /ou/, /e:/ substitutes for RP /əʊ/ (e.g. soap) and RP /ei/ (e.g. table) or eStE	5.56-8
/a:/ initially	/ja/	/ei/ (e.g. ale); /e:/, /o:/ substitutes for RP /ei/ (e.g. ale) and RP /əʊ/ (e.g. oak) or eStE	5.60
/ɔ:/ [ɔ̯:] = ShbME /ɔ:/ (<OE ā) unconditioned	/uə/ [uə]	/o:/, /ou/ substitutes for RP /əʊ/ (e.g. road) or eStE	5.61
/ɔ:/ unconditioned	/uə/	/o:/, /ou/ substitutes for RP /əʊ/ (e.g. toast) or eStE	5.62-3
/ɔ:r/ before a consonant	/uə/	/o:/ (e.g. sort)	5.64
/y:/ [y:] unconditioned	/iə/	/u:/ (e.g. do), /u/ (e.g. foot); /u/ substitute for RP /ʌ/ (e.g. done) or eStE (e.g. good); /ə/, /a/ [a] approximations to RP /ʌ/	5.65-7
/y:/ before /k/	/iu/ [ɪu]	/u/ RP or eStE (e.g. look), /u:/ eStE (e.g. took)	5.65-7
/y:x/ finally	/iəf/	/au/ (plough) /u:/ substitute for RP /au/ (plough), /uf/ substitute for RP /ʌf/ (e.g. enough)	5.68
/y:ɣ/ medially	/iu/	/u:/ (drew)	5.68
/y:r/	?	/o:/ (e.g. floor), /uə/ probably<eStE /u:r/ (e.g. door) or RP (e.g. moor)	5.69

NME	Traditional Egton	RP/StE influenced Egton	Chapter
/u:/ [ɯ:] unconditioned	/u:/ [ɷu]	/au/ (e.g. about)	5.70-1
/u:r/	/uə/, finally often /uər/	/auə/ (e.g. our)	5.73

5.40-6. NME /i:/

5.40. NME /i:/ is represented by /ai/ finally, /ei/ before a voiceless consonant, and /a:/ before a voiced consonant (5.43, 5.45). Before /r/ it appears as /aiə/, which is probably non-traditional (5.46). /ei/ has been superseded by RP /ai/ almost completely while /a:/ has been more resistant (5.42).

5.41. The diphthongization of NME /i:/ began in the 14th century according to Orton (1933, §§353-4), who adduces ei/ey [ei]~[ɛi] and ai/ay [æi] spellings from 15th - 16th century Northern documents. Marshall's (1788) transcription of 'white' wheyt and 'write' wreyt seems to suggest [ei] or [ɛi] before a voiceless consonant (p. 310). He also points out that before /l/, /i:/ was represented by "a broad (as in father, half, and before the letter r); as, mile, maal; stile, staal;" (p. 310), thereby possibly indicating that the [a:] stage was first reached before /l/.

The author of York Minster Screen. Being a specimen of the Yorkshire Dialect as spoken in the North Riding (1833) writes ah and ar, probably [a:], before voiced consonants, e.g. fahve 159 'five', rarde 8 'ride'.

Development: /i:/ [i:]>[ɪi]>[ɐɪ]>[ɛɪ] + voiceless consonant
>[æɪ]>[aɪ] finally
>[a:] + voiced consonant

The ei transcription used by 16th and 17th century orthoepists to show diphthongization means [əi] according to Dobson (II 1968, §137), who suggests the following path of change: /i:/>[ɪi]>[əi]>[ai] (by 1600 in the North). [ɛi] would then be a further development of [ai] or [əi].

5.42. RP /ai/ has ousted /ei/ almost completely while /a:/ is still frequent. As appears from Table 41 the percentage of age-group Mid (1.1%) is smaller than that of age-group Old (8%). The only /ei/ token of the Mid group is

Table 41. Percentage of tokens (e.g. life, pipe) having /ei/ and RP /ai/ before voiceless consonants by age-group (5.42)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/ei/	8.0	1.1	0.0
/ai/	92.0	98.9	100
Tokens	174	95	112
Types	26	13	17

Graphic representation of Table 41: Percentage of /ei/

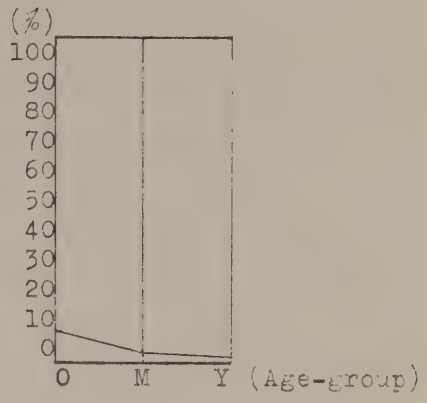
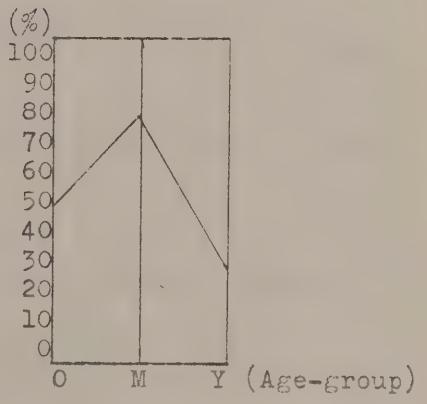


Table 42. Percentage of tokens (e.g. five, side) having /a:/ and RP /ai/ before voiced consonants by age-group (5.42)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/a:/	52.8	81.9	31.1
/ai/	47.2	18.1	68.9
Tokens	193	127	148
Types	25	13	18

Graphic representation of Table 42: Percentage of /a:/



attributable to a male informant. /ei/ will apparently not be found in words of this category in a generation or so whereas /a:/ will certainly hold its ground against the pressure from RP /ai/ for a couple of generations. Table 42 shows that /a:/ is in the majority in age-groups Old (52.8%) and Mid (81.9%). It is also frequent in the Young group (31.1%). The /a:/ tokens of group Mid are evenly distributed among the informants, which means that the women also use /a:/

to a fairly large extent. The female informant of age-group Young has nearly as many /a:/ tokens as /ai/ tokens. This is a deviation from the common pattern since women often seem to be in the vanguard as far as RP innovations are concerned (cf. e.g. 5.30, 5.37).

5.43. Examples of Egton /ei/, /a:/, and /ai/ corresponding to NME /i:/:
5.43.1. < OE ī
/ei/: sipe v. 'ooze'
/ei/~RP /ai/: gripe 'muck-fork', knife, life (8.7), like a., prep., v.; pipe n., white a., wife, wipe v., write
/a:/: alive, bide 'endure'
/a:/~RP /ai/: drive v., five, limestone, mile (8.6.2), mine pron., my (8.15.1), side n., time n., while n., while conj. 'until' (8.27), wide a.
RP /ai/: bite v., bridle n., file n. (< Angl fīl) 'tool for smoothing objects', Friday, ice n., ivy, ride v., ripe a., rise, shine v., strike n., wine (8.7) n., wise a.
5.43.2. < OE ȳ
/ai/: bride, dry a., hide n., hive n., kite n. (toy), lice, mice, pride n.
5.43.3. < OE iȝ with vocalization of ȝ and lengthening of the vowel (Luick 1964, §400)
RP /ai/: tile, twice
5.43.4. < ON í
/ai/: whie 'heifer' (7.16)
5.43.5. < ON ý
/ai/: sky
5.43.6. < (O)F (Lat) ī, i (Luick 1964, §§413.2,4;414)
/ei/~RP /ai/: nice
/ai/: advice (6.4), final (6.16.1), fine a., fry v., miner (7.23.2), pint, price n., private (6.15.1) a., quite, sign, slice n., style n., try

5.44. The following words of obscure or miscellaneous origin also contain /ei/, /ai/, or /a:/ (cf. 5.11. Foot-note 2).
/ei/: sikelike 'suchlike' (7.28.1)
/a:/: sile 'strain liquid'
/ai/: aye 'yes' (8.10.3), lie 'scythe', pie 'dish of meat or fruit', pike 'hay-cock', spike 'big nail'
For I see 8.12.1.

5.45. OE i before the lengthening group /ld/ appears as /a:/~/ai/, suggesting NME /i:/.
/a:/~RP /ai/: wild a.
RP /ai/: mild
Note. /i/ in build v. (OE byldan) is probably due to RP influence. Cf. Cowling (1915, §146) /bi:ld/ (<ME /e:/).

5.46. NME /i:r/ appears as /aiə(r)/ (cf. 7.23), which is probably non-traditional. Cowling (1915, §§152-3,228,279) has [ɛiə] before /r/.
5.46.1. < OE īr
Wire n.
5.46.2. < OE ȳr
Fire n.
5.46.3. < ON ý́r
Mire n., f.n.el. Murk Mire Moor (5.6.1, 5.69.1)

5.47-50. NME /e:/

5.47. NME /e:/ appears as Egton /i:/ (5.48-9). The raising of [e:] started in the 15th century (Luick 1964, §§479-80). NME /e:x/ is represented by /i:/ and /ei/, which, however, are of rare occurrence and are being ousted by RP /ai/ (5.49). NME /e:/ before /r/ appears as /iə/ (5.50).

5.48. Examples of Egton /i:/ corresponding to NME /e:/ in unconditioned position:
5.48.1. < Angl ē (WS ǣ, ēa, īe)
Cheek n., cheese, needle n., read v., seed n., sheep, sleep v., speech, street
5.48.2. < Angl ē<ǣ (i-mutation of ō) (Luick 1964, §288)
Beech, bleed, breed, feed v., feel v., feet (8.6.2), geese, green a., n. (pl. n.el.) Key Green (5.78.2), keen a., keep v., meet v., queen n., seek, sweet a., teeth
5.48.3. < OE ēo
Be (8.25), been, bee, between, deep a., free a., freeze v., knee, reeds pl., reel n. 'cylinder', she (8.4), thief, three (7.9), weed n. 'plant', wheel n.
5.48.4. < Angl ē (WS īe) i-mutation of ēa (Campbell 1968, §200)
Believe, sheet 'piece of linen cloth', steel n.

5.48.5. < OE e lengthened
Field n. (Jordan 1968, §22), well adv. (Sievers & Brunner 1951, §137. Anm. 6)
5.48.6. < OE final e lengthened in monosyllables (Luick 1964, §103)
He (8.4), me, we (8.13.2)
5.48.7. < OE i lengthened and lowered to ē in open syllables (Luick 1964, §393)
Beetle 'insect', evil n., week (8.6.2)
5.48.8. < AN ē < OF ié, e (Jordan 1968, §231)
Grievance, niece, piece n.
5.48.9. < AN ō < OF ue (Jordan 1968, §232)
Beef, people n.
5.48.10. Of obscure origin (cf. 5.11. Foot-note 2)
Screen n.

5.49. NME final /e:x/ and early NME final /e:ɣe/ are represented by /i:/ and /ei/, which, however, are being ousted by RP /ai/.

In Yo Dial (1684) die 139, eye 372, fly v. 601, and tie n. 3 are all spelled with ee, probably [i:], which also occurs in eye 82 in YoMiScr (1833). Ellis (1889) has [i:] in the words below except in neighbour [ɪə] and in high, which he does not record (pp. 502, 508, 527-8). Cowling (1915) has also [i:] (§149) except in neighbour [ɛi] (§177). /i:/ must therefore be regarded as the result of the traditional development of NME /e:x/ and /e:ɣe/.

5.49.1. < NME final /e:x/

In most Northern dialects the fricative was lost in the 14th century (Luick 1964, §768.2a) and [e:] came to share the development of NME [e:] to [i:]. [e:] was also levelled out into inflected forms and became generalized. In those Northern dialects where the fricative was retained longer (Jordan 1968, §§198,295) an [ei] may have developed. Cf. /ei/ < NME /ex/ + /t/ (5.7, 5.15).
/ei/~/ai/: neighbour, cf. neghburs CMCo 11963, PrConsc 5983, and nebor Will of R. Davison (ClW 1551) of Egton, Angl nēh-
RP /ai/: high a., cf. hegh PrConsc 1872, Angl hēh, (also pl.n.el., 5.37.1)

5.49.2. < eNME final /e:ɣe/

After the disappearance of the final /e/ in the 13th century the new group /e:x/ was levelled with original /e:x/ (Jordan 1968, §101).
/i:/~/ei/~RP /ai/: die v., cf. de CMCo 25055; lie n.
/i:/~RP /ai/: fly n., Angl flēʒe
RP /ai/: eye, cf. eghe PrConsc 2234, Angl ēʒe; tie v., Angl tēʒan

5.49.3. < eNME /e:/ + /j/ + vowel in inflected forms

The development was the same as that south of the Humber: [e:j]>[eij] >[ij] >[i:] (Jordan 1968, §101). [i:] would have developed like NME [i:] (5.40) unless the /e:/ of the uninflected forms was levelled out into the inflected forms and became generalized.

Note. The /ai/ of these words except neighbour (2x Mid) has probably been borrowed from RP. In neighbour /ai/ may have been introduced in analogy with other words of this category which had alternating /ei/~RP /ai/.

/i:/ and /ei/ (except in neighbour) are rare. /i:/ was found twice in age-group Old and once in age-group Young, /ei/ once in the Old group and twice in the Mid group. JS and TS are, again (cf. e.g. 5.37), responsible for all the /i:/ and /ei/ tokens of the Mid and Young groups.

It is probable that RP /ai/ will have superseded /i:/ and /ei/ in words of this category in one or two generations.

5.50. NME /e:/ before /r/ is represented by /iə/. It was thus levelled with NME /ɛ:/ in the same position (5.55).

5.50.1. < Angl ē (= WS ēa, ǣ)

Year (8.6.2)

/iə/(2x Mid)~RP /eə/: there adv.

5.50.2. < Angl ē (= WS īe) i-mutation of ēa

Hear

/iə/ (1x Old, 2x Mid)~RP /ə:/: heard

5.50.3. < OE ē

Here (7.23.2)

5.50.4. < OE ēo

Beer, deer

5.51-55. NME /ɛ:/

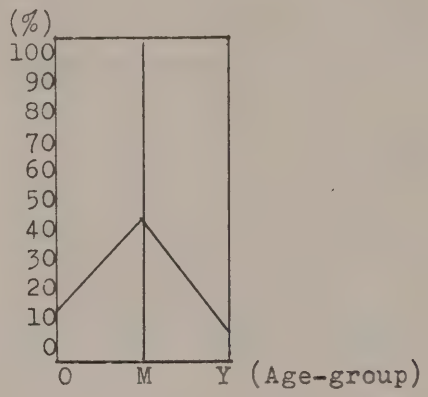
5.51. NME /ɛ:/ appears as /iə/ (5.54). Before /r/ it is also represented by /iə/ (5.55) and was thus levelled with NME /e:/ in the same position (5.50).

5.52. The diphthongization of ME [ɛ:] took place before undergoing raising to [i:]. If this had not been the case, the [i:] from ME [e:] would have suffered the same fate. Luick (1964, §495 + Anm. 2) and Orton (1933, §348) assume that a central off-glide developed at the [ɛ:] stage. The first element of the diph-

Table 43. Percentage of tokens having /iə/ and the alternants RP /i:/ (e.g. meat), RP /e/ (e.g. dead), RP /ei/ (e.g. chain), and /e:/, substitute for RP /ei/ or eStE (e.g. break) by age-group (5.53)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/iə/	15.3	45.7	8.7
alternants	84.7	54.3	91.3
Tokens	118	92	92
Types	64	41	44

Graphic representation of Table 43: Percentage of /iə/



thong was then gradually raised to [i]. The probable development was thus: NME /ɛ:/ [ɛ:] > [ɛə] > [eə] > [iə]. NME /ɛ:/ fell together with NME /a:/ (5.57), possibly at the [eə] stage (Orton 1933, §365) and developed in the same way. The /ɛ:/ position was later taken up by the continuation of NME /ai/ (5.76).

5.53. Most of the words below have RP variants, /i:/, /e/, or /ei/. A few have /e:/, the Egton substitute for RP /ei/ or early StE. The /i:/ alternant may also be due to the mixing up of Egton /i:/ (< ME /e:/) and /iə/ (< ME /ɛ:/), which both correspond to RP /i:/ (cf. Hedevind 1967, 1:32).

In age-groups Mid and Young (Table 43) the same male informants as before are responsible for most of the traditional /iə/ tokens (cf. e.g. 5.37). The whole percentage of /iə/ of group Young (8.7%) is attributable to TS. In the Mid group JS answers for 85.7% of the /iə/ tokens (45.7%). The women have only RP forms. /iə/ in words of this category will probably have died out in two generations.

5.54. Examples of /iə/ (< NME /ɛ:/) and its variants in unconditioned position:

5.54.1. < OE $\bar{æ}_2$ (i-mutation of PrOE $\bar{a}$)

/iə/: heal, wheat

/iə/~RP /i:/: lead v. 'carry, cart'
RP /i:/: clean a., v., each, heat v., leave v., reach v., sea, teach(er)
RP /e/: health, spread v.
5.54.2. < OE ēa (< Gmc au, or by contraction)
/iə/: beam n., beat v., leaf n. 'fat round kidneys'
/iə/~RP /i:/: Easter, heap n., team n.
/iə/~RP /e/: bread, dead a., deaf, death, head n.
RP /i:/: bean, cheap, east (also pl.n.el.) East End (5.9.1) Will of J. Chapman of Egton (ClW 1570), leap v., see v. (< Nhb sēa, Sievers & Brunner 1951, §§129. 2,374. Anm. 4-6; 8.23.3), steam n.
RP /e/: threaten
5.54.3. < OE e-, eo-
/iə/: knead, steal
/iə/~RP /i:/: meat
/iə/~RP /e/: stead
/iə/~/e:/~RP /ei/: break v.
RP /i:/: seal 'sea animal', speak
5.54.4. < ON ǽ
RP /i:/: seat n.
5.54.5. < ON e-
/iə/: neaf 'fist'
5.54.6. < OF e
/iə/~RP /i:/: beast (7.24)
RP /i:/: preach
5.54.7. < AN ē by monophthongization of OF ai and Norman ei particularly before dentals and by loss of s before consonants (Jordan 1968, §§233-4,261).
/iɔ/: complain
/iə/~RP /i:/: grease n., please
/iə/~/e:/~RP /ei/: chain n.
RP /i:/: cream n., disease, eagle, ease v., easy, peace, reason n., season n., treat v.
5.54.8. Of obscure origin (cf. 5.11. Foot-note 2).
/iə/~RP /i:/: peat (8.8)

5.55. NME /ɛ:/ before /r/ appears as /iə/ and was thus levelled with NME /e:/ in the same position (5.50).

5.55.1. < OE ē-
Mare (1x Mid), swear
5.55.2. < OE ēa
Ear 'organ of hearing', near
5.55.3. < (O)F e
Clear a., hearse (2x Old)

5.56-61. NME /a:/

5.56. NME /a:/ appears medially and finally as /iə/ (5.58), initially as /ja/ (5.60). In a few words OE ā is represented by /uə/, which mirrors the development of ME [ɔ:] borrowed from the area south of the Humber (5.61). /iə/, /ja/, and /uə/ are being ousted mainly by RP /ei/ and by /e:/ and /o:/, which have been either borrowed from early StE or substituted for RP /ei/ and /əʊ/ more recently (5.58-61).

5.57. In the Northern dialects (cf. 2.1) OE ā and ON á remained till late ME (Jordan 1968, §276). Early NME [a] in open syllables was lengthened in the 12th century and fell together with NME [a:] (Luick 1964, §391), which seems to have developed in the following way (Orton 1933, §363 (1)): [a:] > [æ:] > [ɛ:] > [eɛ] > [ea] > [iə] (medially and finally). NME /ɛ:/ (5.52) coalesced with NME /a:/, possibly at the [ea] stage, and shared its further development to [iə] (Orton 1933, §365; Luick 1964, §497.1 + Anm. 4).

Table 44. Percentage of tokens (e.g. blame, stone, two) having /iə/ and variants by age-group (5.58.1-3)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/iə/	1.7	18.4	0.0
Variants	98.3	81.6	100
Tokens	115	114	102
Types	29	29	24

Graphic representation of Table 44: Percentage of /iə/

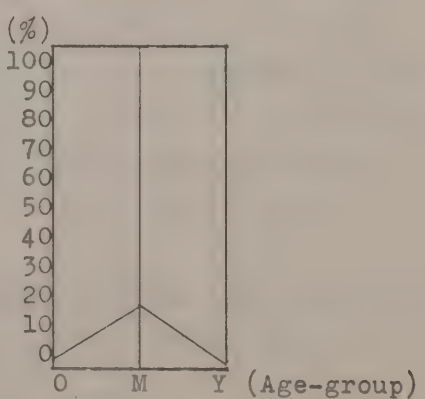
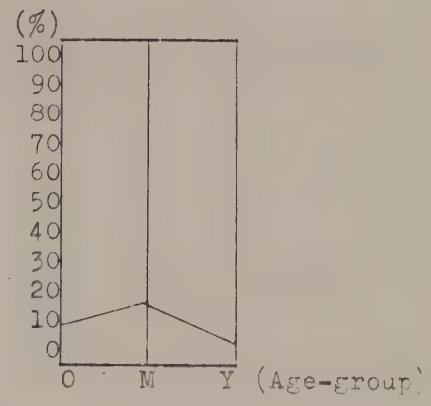


Table 45. Percentage of tokens (e.g. late, same) having /iə/, RP /ei/, and /e:/, substitute for RP /ei/ or eStE, by age-group (5.58.4-6)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/iə/	12.2	18.6	5.4
/e:/	84.8	61.4	59.5
/ei/	3.0	20.0	35.1
Tokens	164	140	111
Types	51	45	34

Graphic representation of Table 45: Percentage of /iə/



5.58. Examples of words containing /iə/ (< NME /a:/) and variants, mainly /o:/, /e:/, and /ei/, medially and finally:

A. Older ā

5.58.1. < OE ā

/iə/~RP /u:/: two, who (8.18.1)

/iə/~/o:/: alone, home (cf. 5.60, 7.15) adv., n., most (< OE (Nhb) māst, Sievers & Brunner 1951, §312. Anm. 1), no pron., sloes pl., so, stone n.

/iə/~/o/: none (5.60.1. Note)

/o:/: bone n., clothes pl., clothing, comb n., drove pret., drover, ghost n., loaf n., rode pret., rose pret., spoke n., stroke n., wrote pret.

/o:/~/ou/ (substitute for RP /əʊ/ or eStE, 5.63.2. Note): soap n.

RP /o:/: broad a., more

5.58.2. < ON á

/iə/: (weighing)scales pl., skell-beast 'partition in cow-stall' (5.11, 7.13, 7.28.2)

/iə/~/o:/: both

/e:/: race n. 'swift course'

5.58.3. Of French origin (Luick 1964, §§418.1,427.1).

/iə/: safe a.

/iə/~/e:/: save v.

/iə/~/e:/~RP /ei/: blame v.

Table 44 shows that /iə/ is not very frequent. Its main variants are /o:/ and /e:/, which are substitutes for RP /əʊ/ and RP /ei/ or early StE. There are no /iə/ tokens in age-group Young and very few in age-group Old (1.7%). The relatively large percentage of /iə/ in the Mid group (18.4%) is attributable to JS (cf. e.g. 5.53). There will probably be no traces of /iə/ in words of this category in one or two generations.

B. Older a- lengthened

5.58.4. < OE a-, æ-

/iə/: grave v. 'dig'

/iə/~/e:/: bake, made pret., rake n., shave, tale

/iə/~/e:/~RP /ei/: late, name n.

/e:/: blade, frame n., game n., grave n., graze 'feed on grass', ladle n., lame a., sake, sale, spade n., wave n.

/e:/~RP /ei/: gate n.

5.58.5. < ON a-

/iə/~/e:/: dale

/iə/~/e:/~RP /ei/: cake n., same, /tiən/ (7.20)~/te:kən/~/teikən/ taken p.p., cf. tane CMCo 2833

5.58.6. Of French origin

/iə/: paste n., waste v.

/iə/~/e:/: table n., taste

/iə/~/e:/~RP /ei/: mason n., stable n.

/iə/~RP /ei/: face n.

/e:/~RP /ei/: bacon, paper n., place n., plate n., station n.

/e:/: brace n. 'pair', case 'box', date n. 'time', escape (6.3.1) v., estate, favour, labourer, mail n. 'post', male a.

RP /ei/: rates pl., razor n.

The low frequency of /iə/ tokens is shown in Table 45. /iə/ is being ousted by /e:/, the Egton substitute for RP /ei/ or a borrowing from early StE, and by RP /ei/. The /iə/ tokens of age-groups Mid (18.6%) and Young (5.4%) are attributable to JS and TS (cf. e.g. 5.53) while those of group Old (12.2%) are more evenly distributed. /e:/ is in the majority in all the age-groups, but is ceding ground to RP /ei/, which answers for 35.1% of the tokens of age-group Young. The female informants of the Mid and Young groups have considerably larger percentages (cf. 5.77) of /ei/ (Mid 68.4%, Young 100%) than the males of the same groups (Mid 2.6%, Young 37.1%). Again, the women seem to be in the vanguard as far as RP innovations are concerned (cf. e.g. 5.53).

The supersession of /iə/, perhaps completed in one or two generations, will probably be accompanied by a keen competition between the superseding /e:/ and /ei/ and RP /ei/ may eventually get the upper hand.

5.59. The following words are of miscellaneous or obscure origin (cf. 5.11. Foot-note 2).
/iə/: cades pl. 'sheep-lice', paste-egg (5.9.2, 7.13) 'Easter egg', spane 'wean', strake 'flat iron foundation of plough'
/e:/: mate 'fellow worker', potatoes (6.5)
RP /ei/: gaze v.

5.60. NME initial [a:] has developed into [ja] in the following way according to Orton (1933, §363 (1)): [a:] > [æ:] > [ɛ:] > [eɛ] > [iɛ] > [ia] > [iá] > [ja]. The [ja] stage apparently existed in the late 17th century to judge from the spellings in YoDial (1684): yable 'able' 602, yan 'one' 73, 235, yance 'once' 598. The same development seems to have taken place in words with ME /ha:-/ owing to the loss of initial /h/. The only example recorded is /jat/ 'hot'. Cf., however, YoMiScr (1833): yal 'whole' 44, 131, yam 14, 195 beside he'ame 158 'home' and Cowling (1915, §128): [jɑl] beside [i·əl] 'whole', [jɑm] beside [i·əm] 'home'.
5.60.1. < OE ā
/jan/ (+ vowel)~/won/~/wan/~/wun/ num., pron. 'one' (7.22.2, 8.11.1); /ja:/ (+ consonant) pron. 'one' (7.22.2), /jans/~/wons/~/wans/~/wuns/ 'once', /jat/~RP /hot/ 'hot'
/o:/: oak, oath, oats, only a., adv.
For home see 5.58.1.
Note. The /w-/ forms of one and once developed in late ME (Jordan 1968, §283). The /u/ of the same words may be an approximation to an earlier stage of RP /ʌ/ (< eModE /u/) while /a/ [a] is probably a recent approximation to a late developmental stage of the same vowel. [ɒ] may be a borrowing from the Midlands (cf. Dobson II 1968, §37), or a spelling pronunciation (cf. 6.4), which also applies to the vowel of /non/ 'none' (5.58.1). Cf. RP /o/~/ʌ/ in words like combat, comrade, conduit (Gimson 1973, 7.13 (3)).
5.60.2. < OE a lengthened in open syllables
/ja/~/e:/~RP /ei/: ale
/e:/: acre (8.6.2)
RP /ei/: ache v.

5.60.3. < OF a before stop + liquid and before /dʒ/ (Jordan 1968, §224.I)
/e:/~RP /ei/: able, age n.

Table 46. Percentage of tokens (e.g. ale, one) having /ja/ and variants by age-group (5.60)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/ja/	0.9	21.6	2.9
variants	99.1	78.4	97.1
tokens	114	97	68
ages	11	9	6

Graphic representation of Table 46: Percentage of /ja/

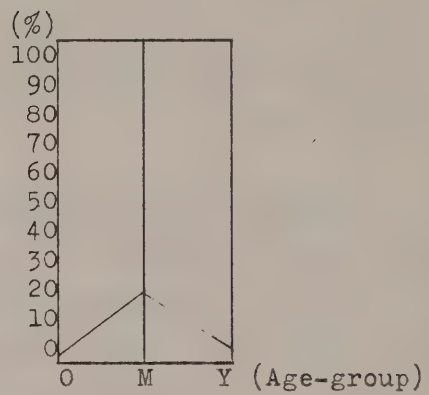


Table 46 shows that there are few /ja/ tokens in age-groups Old (0.9%) and Young (2.9%). The same male informants as before, JS and TS (cf. e.g. 5.58), answer for all the /ja/ tokens of age-groups Mid (21.6%) and Young. /ja/ was mainly found in one. It occurs in ale and hot only once each. Except in one, once, and hot the variants are /e:/ and /o:/, substitutes for RP /ei/ and RP /əʊ/ or early StE, and RP /ei/. /ja/ tokens will probably have died out in a couple of generations.

5.61. The words below, derived from OE ā and now with /uə/ instead of the regular /iə/, are borrowings from the area south of the Humber where OE ā was rounded to [ɔ:] in early ME. This /ɔ:/ was then levelled under NME /ɔ:/ (5.62). A more recent trend is the use of /o:/ and /ou/ (5.63.2. Note), which are either substitutes for RP /əʊ/ or early StE. Only /o:/ and /ou/ are used in age-groups Old and Young (Table 47). All the /uə/ tokens of group Mid are attributable to JS (cf. e.g. 5.60). There will presumably be no traces of /uə/ in these words in a generation or so.
/uə/~/o:/: boat n., goat, load n. (8.6.2)
/uə/~/o:/~/ou/: road n.

Table 47. Percentage of tokens (boat, goat, load, road) having /uə/ and /o:/, /ou/, substitutes for RP /əʊ/ or eStE, by age-group (5.61)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/uə/	0.0	18.2	0.0
/o:/, /ou/	100	81.8	100
Tokens	16	22	4
Types	4	4	2

Graphic representation of Table 47: Percentage of /uə/

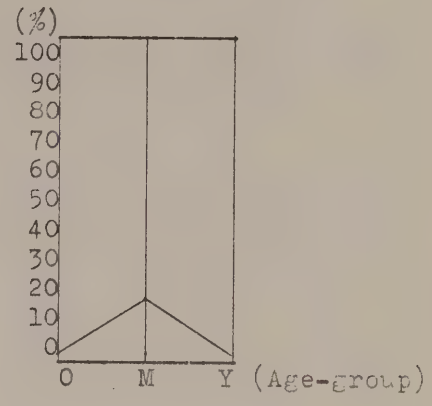
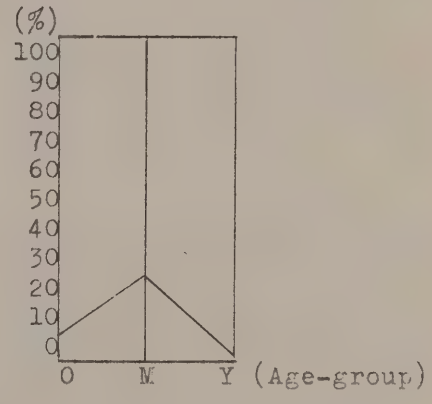


Table 48. Percentage of tokens (e.g. coat, toast) having /uə/ and /o:/, /ou/, substitutes for RP /əʊ/ or eStE, by age-group (5.62-63)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/uə/	6.5	25.0	0.0
/o:/, /ou/	93.5	75.0	100
Tokens	31	24	22
Types	17	14	12

Graphic representation of Table 48: Percentage of /uə/



5.62-64. NME /ɔ:/

5.62. NME /ɔ:/ appears as /uə/ (5.63), which also occurs in borrowings from the area south of the Humber where OE ā was rounded to [ɔ:] in early ME (5.61), and in a few words with OF o before r + consonant (5.64). Luick (1896, §296) assumes the following development: [ɔ:]>[ɔə]>[oə]>[uə]. /uə/ is infre-

quent. It is being superseded by /o:/ and /ou/, which are either borrowings from early StE or substitutes for RP /əʊ/. As far as the French words (< OF o + r + consonant) are concerned (5.64), /o:/ is either early StE or RP.

Table 48 shows that /uə/ does not occur in age-group Young and is rare in age-group Old (6.5%). The relatively large percentage of /uə/ in group Mid (25%) is attributable to JS (cf. e.g. 5.60). /uə/ in words of this category will probably have died out in a generation or so.

5.63. Examples of /uə/ (< NME /ɔ:/), /o:/, and /ou/:

5.63.1. < OE o-

/uə/: hole n., nose n.

/uə/~/o:/: coal n., foal n., throat n.

/o:/: float v., hope, rose n.

5.63.2. < (O)F o in open syllables and before st (Jordan 1968, §227)

/uə/~/o:/: coat n.

/o:/: close v., dispose, grocer, local

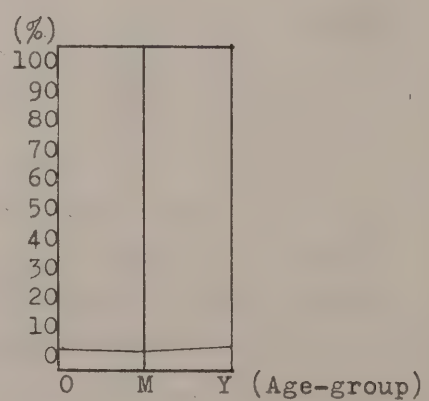
/o:/~/o/: post n. 'mail'

/o:/~/ou/: notice, suppose (6.4), toast n.

Table 49. Percentage of tokens (e.g. old, soap, road, toast, know) having /ou/ as a substitute for RP /əʊ/ by age-group (5.63.2. Note)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/ou/	5.0	4.4	6.5
Tokens	119	136	154
Types	31	36	37

Graphic representation of Table 49: Percentage of /ou/



Note. The realizations of /ou/, [ɔʊ] and [oʊ], are approximations to RP /əʊ/, or possibly early StE, and of low frequency of occurrence (cf. 5.23.1 + Note 1,

5.58.1, 5.61, 5.82.4). They are evenly distributed among the informants of age-groups Old and Young, but in the Mid group one of the women is responsible for all the /ou/ tokens. Since /ou/ is somewhat more strongly represented (Table 49) in the Young group (6.5%) than in the Mid (4.4%) and Old (5%) groups, there are reasons to believe that it will increase in number in future. But /o:/ (cf. 4.15) will probably be the common substitute for /əʊ/ for several generations.

5.64. /uə/ also represents OF o before r + consonant. OF o in this position was often long in ME (Ekvall 1965, §18; Jordan 1968, §220). /uə/ was recorded in only two words. It is being superseded by /o:/, which is either a loan from early StE or RP.
/uə/~RP /o:/: force n., sort n.
RP /o:/: border n., corner n., corpse, deform (6.3.1), forge n., form n., order n.

5.65-69. Late NME /y:/ < early NME /o:/

5.65. Late NME /y:/ is represented by /iə/ except before /k/ where /iu/ is used (5.67). Early NME final /o:x/ appears as /iəf/, early NME medial /o:ɣ/ as /iu/ (5.68). Before /r/ NME /y:/ is represented by /uə/ and /o:/, which are probably non-traditional (5.69). /iə/ and particularly /iu/ are being superseded by /u:/ (= RP or early StE), /u/ (= early StE or RP or substitute for RP /ʌ/), /ə/, and /a/ [a] (= approximations to RP /ʌ/, cf. 5.33).

5.66. In the late 13th century early NME [o:] was fronted to a sound written u (sometimes o) and later ui, oi. The new vowel had an "ü-artigen Klang" (Luick 1964, §406) or an "ö-artigen Laut" (Jordan 1968, §54). They regard it as similar to, and in the 15th century levelled with AN /y:/ (5.86, 5.91). Dean (1962, pp. 25-6) assumes the following development: [o:] > [ø:] > [y:] > [ɪy] > [ɪu] (before /k/).
> [ɪə] (in other positions).

In YoDial (1684) the eau-spelling of words such as deaun 221 'done', neaun 224 'noon', leauke 221 'look', and fleaur 222 'floor' may indicate that the [ɪy] or [ɪu] stages had been reached in the 17th century. Cowling (1915, §§159-61) recorded /iə/ and /iu/ + /k/ in most of the words below, but he also found borrowings from standard English with /u:/.

Table 50. Percentage of tokens (e.g. do, foot, done, mother) having /iə/ and /u:/ (= RP or eStE), /u/ (= eStE or RP or substitute for RP /ʌ/), /ə/, /a/ [a] (= approximations to RP /ʌ/) by age-group (5.67)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/iə/	22.0	28.3	3.0
Variants	78.0	71.7	97.0
Tokens	209	127	200
Types	35	20	32

Graphic representation of Table 50: Percentage of /iə/

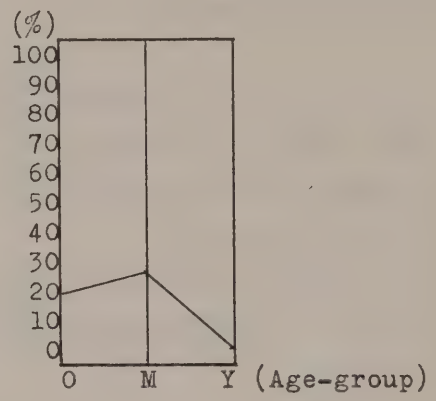
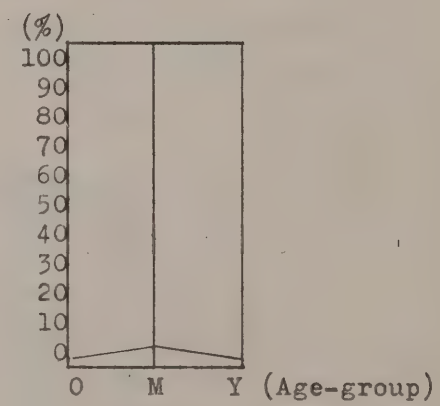


Table 51. Percentage of tokens (e.g. look) having /iu/ and /u:/ (= eStE), /u/ (= RP or eStE) before /k/ by age-group (5.67)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/iu/	0.0	3.9	0.0
/u:/	58.3	72.5	6.7
/u/	41.7	23.6	93.3
Tokens	72	51	45
Types	7	5	4

Graphic representation of Table 51: Percentage of /iu/



5.67. Examples of /iə/ and /iu/ + /k/ (< lNME /y:/) with the variants /u:/, /u/, /ə/, and /a/ [a] (5.65):

5.67.1. < OE ō

/iə/: broom pl.n.el., Broom House (5.71.1)

/iə/~RP /u:/: cool a., do v., goose, school n. 'institution for teaching and learning', soon, spoon n., to (7.14) prep.

/iə/~/u/: done p.p., foot (8.6.2) n.
/iu/~/u:/~RP /u/: look v.
/u:/~RP /u/: book n.
/u:/: cook, food, hoof n., hook n., moon n., noon, roof n., shoe n., tool n., tooth n.
/u/: blood n., brother (7.7), flood, glove n., good a., must v., other (7.7), rook n., stood pret.
/u/~/a/: Monday
/u/~/ə/: month (8.6.2)
/u/~/ə/~/a/: mother (7.6) n.

5.67.2. < OE ēo by stress-shifting to the second element of the diphthong and loss of the first (Jordan 1968, §84. Anm. 4)

RP /u:/~/u/: shoot v., n. 'shooting party (land)'
RP /u:/: choose

5.67.3. < ON ó
/iə/~RP /u:/: root
/iu/~/u:/: took pret.
/u:/: bloom 'flower', crook n.

5.67.4. < OF o (Jordan 1968, §228)
/iə/~RP /u:/: boot n.
RP /u:/: fool 'silly person', move v.

5.67.5. Of obscure origin (cf. 5.11. Foot-note 2).
/iə/~/u/: tup n., 14th century tope, tupe (OED Tup, sb.)

In age-group Young (3%) /iə/ is used by only one male informant, TS (cf. e.g. 5.60) whereas, in age-group Mid (28.3%), the /iə/ tokens are shared between JS (84.4%) (cf. e.g. 5.62) and another male (15.6%) (Table 50). In the Old group (22%) /iə/ is more evenly distributed among the informants.

/iu/ + /k/ was found only twice in the Mid group, and only with males. /u:/ (= early StE) + /k/, on the other hand, often occurs instead of RP /u/. Table 51 shows that /u:/ is in the majority in age-groups Old (58.3%) and Mid (72.5%) but not very frequent in group Young (6.7%). The /u:/ tokens of age-group Mid are attributable to JS (46.2%, cf. e.g. 5.62) and another male (53.8%). In group Young one male informant, but not TS this time (cf. above and e.g. 5.60), answers for all the /u:/ tokens. Thus, neither /iə/, /iu/, nor /u:/ is used by the women.

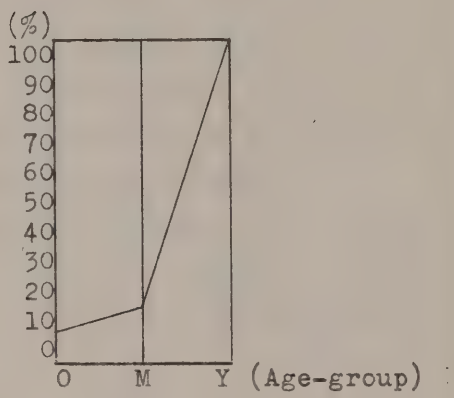
Since there are no /iu/ tokens and few /iə/ and /u:/ (+ /k/) tokens in group Young, it is to be assumed that these forms will have died out in a

couple of generations. This also applies to the /iəf/ and /iu/ tokens listed in 5.68.

Table 52. Percentage of tokens having /iəf/ (enough, plough, tough), /iu/ (drew), and variants by age-group (5.68)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/iəf/, /iu/	8.3	16.7	100
Variants	91.7	83.3	0.0
Tokens	24	12	2
Types	4	3	2

Graphic representation of Table 52: Percentage of /iəf/ and /iu/



5.68. Early NME final [o:x] and medial [o:ɣ] have developed in the following way:
[o:x] > [y:x] > [iux] > [iəf] > [iəf] > [ɪəf] /iəf/ (Jordan 1968, §§128,294)
[o:ɣ] > [y:ɣ] > [yə] > [iə] > [ɪu] /iu/ (Jordan 1968, §119)
/iəf/~/uf/: enough, tough a.
/iəf/~/u:/ (rendering of RP /au/)~RP /au/: plough (7.3)
/iu/~RP /u:/: drew pret.

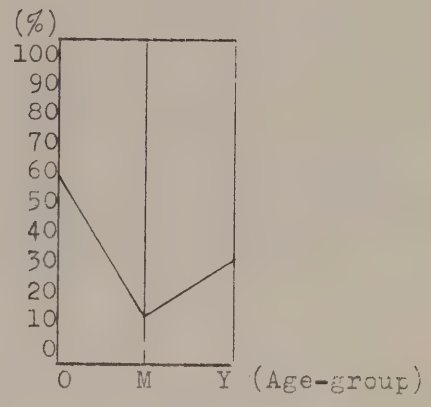
Table 52 shows the distribution of /iəf/, /iu/ tokens and variants. It deviates from the previous tables in so far as the percentage of /iəf/, /iu/ in age-group Young (100%) is larger than those in age-groups Old (8.3%) and Mid (16.7%). This is due to the small number of tokens (2x) in the Young group, which makes the percentage unrepresentative. JS and TS, the same males as before (cf. e.g. 5.60), are responsible for all the /iəf/, /iu/ tokens of age-groups Mid and Young.

5.69. Late NME /y:/ before /r/ is represented by /uə/ and /o:/, which are probably non-traditional. Cowling (1915, §§160,162) recorded [i·ə] in door and floor, but [u·ə] in moor. [u·ə] was attributed to the influence of the labial. The /uə/ of door and floor probably originates from early StE /u:r/. According to Horn (1908, p. 90) door and floor were pronounced with /u:/ in the North of

Table 53. Percentage of tokens (door, floor, moor, poor) having /uə/ and /o:/ before /r/ by age-group (5.69)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/uə/	60.0	14.2	33.3
/o:/	40.0	85.8	66.7
Tokens	10	14	3
Types	4	4	3

Graphic representation of Table 53: Percentage of /uə/



England in the middle of the 18th century. Orton (1933, §392) found spellings possibly indicating /u:/ in Northern documents from the latter half of the 16th century. /o:/ in the words below is presumably from RP.

5.69.1. < OE ō

/uə/~/o:/: floor n., moor n. (also f.n.el.) Murk Mire Moor (5.6.1, 5.46.3, 7.23.1)

5.69.2. < OE u- (Jordan 1968, §26)

/uə/~/o:/: door

5.69.3. < OF o (Jordan 1968, §228)

/uə/~/o:/: poor

Table 53 shows that the percentage of /uə/ in age-group Mid (14.2%) is smaller than those in age-groups Old (60%) and Young (33.3%), which is a deviation from previous tables. Here again, there is too small a number of tokens to make the percentages representative. JS answers for the two /uə/ tokens of group Mid (cf. e.g. 5.68), another male for the only /uə/ token of group Young. The women of the same groups have consequently only /o:/.

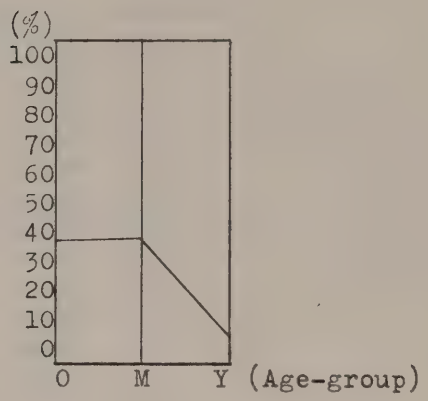
5.70-73. NME /u:/

5.70. NME /u:/ is represented by /u:/ in the traditional Egton dialect. Its development has been dependent on NME /o:/. There was no need for its shifting to retain its phonemic distinctiveness when the nearest long phoneme /o:/ had been

Table 54. Percentage of tokens (e.g. cow, house) having /u:/ and RP /au/ by age-group (5.70)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/u:/	39.8	40.1	7.7
/au/	60.2	59.9	92.3
Tokens	244	167	233
Types	36	27	32

Graphic representation of Table 54: Percentage of /u:/



fronted and diphthongized to /iə/, /iu/ (5.66; Luick 1964, §482. Anm. 1).

Most of the words below were recorded with RP /au/ alternants, some only with /au/ (5.71-2). Before /r/ /uə/ or RP /auə/ is used (5.73). Table 54 shows that /u:/ asserts itself well in age-groups Old (39.8%) and Mid (40.1%) against RP /au/ whereas, in group Young (7.7%), it has been ousted by /au/ to a large extent. Most of the /u:/ tokens are, again (cf. e.g. 5.68), attributable to JS (70.1%) of group Mid and TS (94.4%) of group Young. The female informants have only RP /au/ tokens. There will probably be no traces of /u:/ in words of this category in a couple of generations.

5.71. Examples of traditional /u:/ and the RP alternant /au/ in unconditioned position:

5.71.1. < OE ū

/u:/: clout n. 'piece of cloth', loud, sprout v. (OE *sprūtan, OED Sprout, v.[1]), thou (7.11, 8.12.2)

/u:/~RP /au/: about adv., prep., cow n., down adv., prep., house (also pl.n.el.) Broom House (5.67.1), Westonby House (5.9.1); how adv., now, out adv., south adv., thousand (7.18.1), town, without conj. 'unless' (8.27), prep.

RP /au/: brow, brown a., cloud n., mouse n., mouth n., outing, proud a.

5.71.2. < OE u-

/u:/: aboon (7.26, 8.10.2) 'above' adv. <OE abufan. [v] was vocalized and coalesced with [u] into [u:] (Luick 1896, §396). Cf. abowen PrConsc 4760.

5.71.3. < OF, AN ŭ (Jordan 1968, §229)

/u:/: amount v., frown n.

/u:/~RP /au/: allow, council, county, crown n., ounce, round a., sound v.
RP /au/: bowels pl., count v., doubt

5.72. The following words are of obscure origin (cf. 5.11. Foot-note 2).
/u:/: bounce v.
/u:/~RP /au/: shout v., spout n.
RP /au/: grouse n.

5.73. ME /u:/ before /r/ (cf. 7.23) appears as /uə/ or RP /auə/. The /ə/ between /u/ and /r/ seems to be of fairly modern origin. Marshall (1788, p. 312) transcribes /u:/ before /r/ as oo, which implies no glide.
5.73.1. < OE ū
/uə/: sour a.
/uə/~RP /auə/: our
RP /auə/: shower n.
5.73.2. < ON ú
/juə/: ewer 'udder'
5.73.3. < OF, AN ū (Jordan 1968, §229)
/uə/~RP /auə/: flour n., flower, hour (8.6.2)
RP /auə/: tower n.

5.74-93. Northern Middle English Diphthongs (Contents p. 43)

5.74. Table 55 shows the late NME diphthongal phonemes in stressed syllables (cf. Brunner I 1960, p. 254; Dobson II 1968, Chapter IX), their modern Egton representatives, and RP/StE influence.

Table 55. NME diphthongal phonemes in stress, their modern Egton representatives, and RP/StE influence (5.74)

NME	Traditional Egton[1]	RP/StE influenced Egton	Chapter
/ai/ [ai] unconditioned	/e:/ [ɛ:]	/ei/ (e.g. day, way)	5.75-79
/air/	/e:r/	/eə/ (e.g. fair n.)	5.80

[1]The phonetic notation refers to the norm variants (cf. Chapter 4).

NME	Traditional Egton	RP/StE influenced Egton	Chapter
/au/ [au]	/o:/ [ɔ:]	/ou/ substitute for RP /əʊ/ (know) or eStE	5.81-82
/ou/ [ɔu]	/au/ [ɑʊ]	/o:/ (e.g. four), /o:/ substitute for RP /əʊ/ or eStE (e.g. grow)	5.83-85
/iu/ [iʊ]	/iu/ [ɪu]	/u:/ after /Cl/, /r/, /ʃ/, /dʒ/, otherwise /ju:/ (e.g. rule, Tuesday)	5.86-91
/oi/ [ɔi]	/oi/ [ɔɪ]	- -[1]	5.92-93
/ui/ [ɑi]	/oi/ [ɔɪ]	- -[1]	5.92-93

5.75-80. NME /ai/

5.75. NME /ai/ is represented by /e:/ in unconditioned position (5.78-9). The use of RP /ei/ instead of traditional /e:/ is, however, on the increase (5.77). /e:/ also occurs before /r/ whereas loss of /r/ gives rise to /eə/ (5.80).

5.76. Early ME /ai/ and /ɛi/ became identical in sound, probably [aɪ], by the end of the 13th century (Luick 1964, §408.1). This new sound was monophthongized to [a:] in the North. Northern spellings with a indicating [a:], as early as the 13th century have been found by Orton (1933, §§369,371). [a:] was then raised to [ɛ:]. ME /ai/ and /ɛi/ never coalesced with NME /a:/, which was raised to [æ:] in the North in the early 13th century before the raising of [a:] (< [aɪ]) to [æ:] (Orton 1933, §368) and eventually developed into Egton [ɪə]. The development was thus: ME /ai/, /ɛi/ > [aɪ] > [a:] > [æ:] > [ɛ:] /e:/.

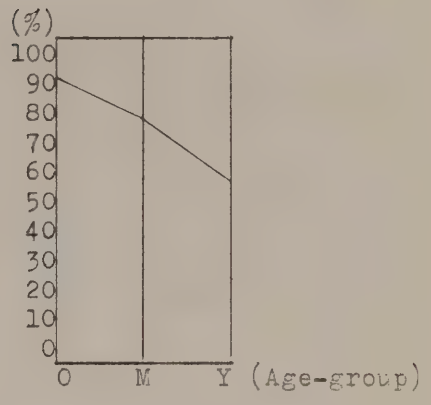
5.77. Table 56 shows that /e:/ holds its ground well against RP /ei/ (cf. 5.58. 4-6, Table 45). /e:/ is in the majority in all the three age-groups (Old 93.7%, Mid 80.7%, Young 59.8%). The women of the Mid and Young groups have considerably larger percentages of /ei/ (Mid 67.7%, Young 82.4%) than the men of the same groups (Mid 5.5%, Young 32.6%) (cf. 5.58). /e:/ will presumably remain in words

[1]Blanks in the "RP/StE influenced Egton" column mean that the traditional Egton development corresponds to that of RP/StE.

Table 56. Percentage of tokens (e.g. day, train) having /e:/ and RP /ei/ by age-group (5.77)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/e:/	93.7	80.7	59.8
/ei/	6.3	19.3	40.2
Tokens	174	140	112
Types	35	25	21

Graphic representation of Table 56: Percentage of /e:/



of this category for several generations.

5.78. Examples of /e:/ (< early ME /ai/) and RP /ei/ in unconditioned position:
5.78.1. < OE æʒ
/e:/: brain n., daisy, maiden a., nail n., tail n.
/e:/~RP /ei/: day (8.6.2), may v., say v. (cf. Nhb he sæʒeð, Campbell 1971, §762)
RP /ei/: maid
Note. Shortening occurs in /e/ says, said.
5.78.2. < OE ǣʒ
/e:/: clay, key n., pl.n.el. Key Green (5.48.2); /ki:/ is probably a borrowing from RP.
5.78.3. < OF, AN ai (Jordan 1968, §233)
/e:/: fail, grain n. 'corn', May, raisin (6.14), traces pl. 'side straps by which a horse pulls a wagon'
/e:/~RP /ei/: claim, pay(ment) (6.13), plain a., stay v. 'remain', train n., wait v.

5.79. Examples of /e:/ (< early ME /ɛi/) and RP /ei/ in unconditioned position:
5.79.1. < OE eʒ
/e:/: rain
/e:/~RP /ei/: away, lay v., play v., way

5.79.2. < Angl ēʒ
/e:/: grey a., hay n.
5.79.3. < ON ei
/e:/: grain n. 'a small valley forking off from another' (Smith I 1970, grein p. 208) (pl.n.el.) Egton Grange /gre:ndʒ/, earlier /gre:nz/ according to TV (3.2), cf. Graines Will of G. Pearson of Egton (C1W 1677); lake v. 'play', nay (8.10.3) part. 'no', steak n.
/e:/~RP /ei/: raise v., they
5.79.4. < OF ei
/e:/: faint v., faith, paint v., rail(way)
/e:/~RP /ei/: pain n.

5.80. /e:/ (< early ME /ai/, /ɛi/) is also used before /r/. When /r/ is lost or weakened, perhaps through RP influence, the result is [ɛə] /eə/ (4.27, 7.23).
5.80.1. < OE ǣʒ
Stair
5.80.2. < ON ei
Their
5.80.3. < OF, AN ai, ei
Air n., fair n., pair n.

5.81-82. NME /au/

5.81. NME /au/ appears as /o:/ (5.82). According to Orton (1933) the second element of ME [au] was weakened and disappeared in the North (§393). To compensate for this loss, [a] was lengthened by 1500 (§§ 393-4). In some Northern dialects [a:] was retained whereas in others, like Egton, it was raised to [ɔ:] (cf. Luick 1964, §519 + Anm. 3). Evidence from orthoepists suggests, however, the following development: [au] > [ɑu] > [ɒu] > [ɒ:] (Dobson II 1968, §§235-7).

Late NME /au/ from ME /al/ (5.23) and ME /ax/ (5.25) was levelled with old /au/.

/ou/, which occurs in one word, is a substitute for RP /əʊ/ or early StE (cf. 4.24, 5.63.2. Note).

5.82. Examples of /o:/ (< NME /au/):
5.82.1. < OE aʒ
Draw v., gnaw, saw n. 'a tool for cutting'

5.82.2. < OE aw
Claw n.
5.82.3. < OE ā3
Owe, own a.
5.82.4. < OE āw
Blow v., crow n., mow v. 'cut down grass', snow n., sow v., throw v. (7.9, 8.23.3)
/o:/~/ou/: know v.
Note. /au/ in soul (< OE sāwol) is probably the result of the further development of [ɔu] (cf. 5.83), which was borrowed from the area south of the Humber. The original NME form saull was found in local 16th century wills (H. Holland 1525, Th. Dawson 1539, R. Helm 1540)
5.82.5. < OE ēaw with stress-shifting (Luick 1964, §360)
/o:/~/au/: show
Note. /au/ in show may be derived from [ɔu] (5.83), borrowed from the area south of the Humber, but since /au/ and /o:/ alternate in a word like grow (5.85.1), analogy probably explains the same alternation in show.
5.82.6. < ON ag, ág
Law n., low a.
5.82.7. < OF (Lat) au
August, fraud, sauce n., sausage
Note. /o/ occurs in because (6.5) and fault. The /ol/ of fault has probably been introduced from early StE. Cf. /ol/ in malt, Malton, salt (5.23.1. Note 3), and in alter (5.23.3).

5.83-85. NME /ou/

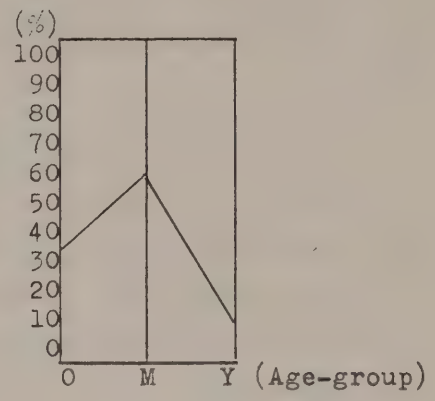
5.83. NME /ou/ appears as /au/ (5.85), which also represents NME /ol/ preconsonantally or finally (5.29) and NME /ox/ before /t/ (5.31). An alternating /o:/ is found in a few words. It is either RP (four) or early StE or the substitution for RP /əʊ/ (grow) (5.84).

The first element of the ME diphthong has been lowered and unrounded in the following manner: [ɔʊ] > [ɒʊ] > [ɑʊ]~[aʊ] /au/. [ɑʊ] and [aʊ] seem to have developed fairly recently (cf. 5.29, 5.31). [ɔʊ] was recorded by Ellis (1889, p. 528) in ewe, four, and by Cowling (1915, §§188-90,245) in ewe, four, grow, and yowl.

Table 57. Percentage of tokens (e.g. four, grow) having /au/ and /o:/ (= RP or eStE or substitute for RP /əʊ/) by age-group (5.84)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/au/	36.7	62.8	12.5
/o:/	63.3	37.2	87.5
Tokens	139	78	48
Types	6	4	3

Graphic representation of Table 57: Percentage of /au/



5.84. As usual, the traditional form is more strongly represented in age-group Mid (62.8%) than in age-group Old (36.7%) whereas group Young (12.5%) has the smallest percentage of the traditional form (Table 57). /au/ is only used by male informants. In age-groups Mid and Young JS (95.9%) and TS (66.7%) are responsible for most of the /au/ tokens (cf. e.g. 5.70). /o:/ and, in applicable cases, /ou/ (= RP /əʊ/, 4.24, 5.63.2. Note), will presumably have ousted /au/ in several of the words below (5.85) in one or two generations.

5.85. Examples of traditional Egton /au/ (< NME /ou/) and the variant /o:/:

5.85.1. < OE ōw

/au/~/o:/: grow

5.85.2. < OE ēow with stress-shifting to the second element of the diphthong /jau/: ewe (Chapter 9)

/au/~RP /o:/: four, fourteen

Note. /o/ occurs in fortnight and forty beside RP /o:/. After stress-shifting the diphthong was shortened to [ɔ], and [r] was lost (Horn & Lehnert 1954, §259.1; Luick 1964, §772.d).

5.85.3. < OE oȝ

/au/: bow-legged

5.85.4. < OE of with vocalization of [v]

/au/~/o:/: over (7.26)

5.85.5. < ON au
/au/: stower n. 'pole'
5.85.6. < OF ou, ol
/au/~/o:l/: soldier n.

5.86-91. Late NME /iu/

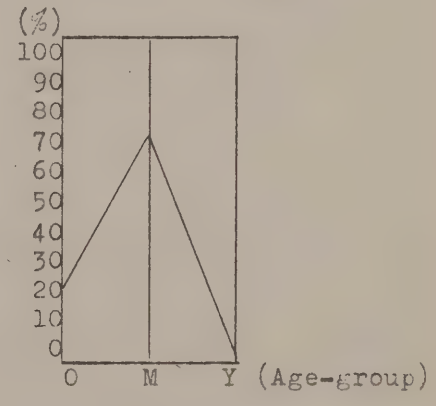
5.86. Late NME /iu/ is represented by /iu/, which, however, is being superseded by RP /ju:/ and /u:/ (5.87-91).

ME [eu] and ME [ɛu] became [iu] in late NME and fell together with early ME [iu] (Dobson II 1968, §§188,243; Jordan 1968, §§109-10). Before /k/ early NME [o:] developed into Egton [ɪu] (5.66), which also seems to have been substituted for AN [y:] (5.91) (Jordan 1968, §230).

Table 58. Percentage of tokens (e.g. fruit, new) having /iu/ and RP /ju:/, /u:/ by age-group (5.87)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/iu/	23.1	73.3	0.0
/ju:/, /u:/	76.9	26.7	100
Tokens	26	30	12
Types	19	22	9

Graphic representation of Table 58: Percentage of /iu/



5.87. /iu/ [ɪu] is mostly replaced by /u:/ after /Cl/, /r/, /ʃ/, and /dʒ/, and by /ju:/ after other consonants and initially owing to RP influence.

Table 58 shows the distribution of /iu/ and RP variants. There are no /iu/ tokens in age-group Young. In age-group Mid the percentage of /iu/ is considerably larger (73.3%) than that in group Old (23.1%). Two males of group Mid, one of whom is JS (81.8%) (cf. e.g. 5.84), share the /iu/ tokens between them. Thus, the women of the same group have only RP tokens. Owing to the small number of tokens and the difficulty of hearing the difference

between [ɪu] and [ju:] in rapid speech, the percentages may be unrepresentative.

5.88. Early ME /iu/

5.88.1. < OE ī̆w

/iu/~RP /ju:/: Tuesday (6.10)

RP /ju:/: yew

5.88.2. < OF iu

RP /u:/: rule n.

5.89. Early ME /eu/

5.89.1. < OE ēow, Nhb īow

/iu/: mew (8.23.7) pret. 'mowed', sew (8.23.7) pret. 'sowed'

/iu/~RP /ju:/: knew (8.23.7) pret., new

RP /u:/: clew 'ball of thread', grew pret., true (7.8) a.

Note. Analogy with the verbs of this category probably explains the preterite /siu/ (8.23.7) 'sawed'. Cf. 15th century sew (OED Saw, v.[1]).

5.89.2. < OF eu

/iu/: pewter

RP /ju:/: fuel n., suet

RP /u:/: blue a., crew n., rhubarb

5.90. ME /ɛu/

5.90.1. < OE ēaw

/iu/~RP /ju:/: dew n., few a.

5.91. AN /y:/

5.91.1. < OF ü

/iu/: curious, during

RP /ju:/: excuse (6.3.1), funeral, use v.

/u:/~RP /u/: sugar n.

5.91.2. < OF üi (Jordan 1968, §239)

RP /ju:/: suit

RP /u:/: fruit, June

5.92-93. ME /oi/ and /ui/

5.92. ME /oi/ and /ui/, which occurred only in words of French origin, are

represented by /oi/ (5.93).

According to Dobson (II 1968) ME /oi/ [ɔi] remains unchanged (§261) while ME /ui/ [ɷi] developed in the following way: eModE [ɷi] > [ʌi] > [əi] > (after 1700) [ai] (§262). [ai], which could still be heard in the 19th century, was then ousted by [ɔi] (§262).

5.93. Examples of /oi/ (< ME /oi/ and /ui/):

5.93.1. < OF o̱i (Dobson II 1968, §254)

Choice, employ, noise, quoits pl., royal a.

5.93.2. < OF o̲i (Dobson II 1968, §255)

Boil v., coin n., join v., joiner, point, poison (6.16.2), spoil v., voice n.

6. PHONOLOGY: THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORTHERN MIDDLE ENGLISH VOWELS OF UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES

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6.1. The NME vowels of unstressed syllables have usually been reduced to /ə/, /i/, or /Ø/, which also occur in RP/StE, but whose distribution in the dialect sometimes deviates from that in RP/StE.

6.2-5. Pre-Tonic Syllables

6.2. ME /i/ remains as /i/: cement n., discover, distribute, impossible, infect

ME /i:/ has been shortened: /misén/ 'myself', /ðisén/ 'thyself' (5.9.1, 7.26, 8.16).

6.3. In prefixes and other pre-tonic syllables ME /e/ is represented by
1) /i/: begin, below, December, deform (5.64), delay, escape (5.58.6) v., exactly, example (5.17.5), excuse (5.91.1), exhibit v., expect, expenses, extend, mechanical (5.17.4), preserve (5.14.5) v., religious (5.4.7) a., remember (5.9.3), repeat v., return (5.37.2) v.
2) /e/: employer, exempt a., expensive, experience, express v., expression, extent

6.4. Earlier /a/, /o/, /u/ appear as /ə/: accept, acquit, across, advice (5.43.6), annoy, apply, around, assistant, association, attach, collection, community, connect, connection, correct a., forbid, forgive, opinion, polite,

produce v., pronounce, subscription (5.4.7), suppose (5.63.2), today

/o/ was found in certain words beginning with com-, con-, probably owing to the influence of the spelling (cf. 5.60.1. Note) and the initial velar stop that helped to retain the back vowel (Hedevind 1967, 7:5; Orton 1933, §212): committee, compartment (6.13), compel, complete a., concern v., concession, condition n., confirm, conservative, convince

Note. The a of apon 'upon' (Will of R. Davison of Egton Bridge, ClW 1551) may show a change of the quality of original u.

6.5. Loss of pre-tonic syllables occurs in the following words: /koz/ 'because' (5.82.7. Note), /té:tiz/ 'potatoes' (5.59), /bákə/ 'tobacco'.

6.6-8. Medial Syllables

6.6. ME vowels of medial syllables have been reduced to

1) /i/: carpenter, implement (6.13) n., lavender (5.17.4) n., passenger, vinegar

2) /ə/: emery (5.9.3), every (5.13.2), gallery, governor (5.33.6), miracle, opposite, Parliament (6.13), possible, robbery (5.27.4), surgery (5.37.2)

6.7. /i/ or /ə/ occurs in a few words with AN /y/ instead of RP /ju/:

/i/: /á:gimənt/ 'argument', reputation

/ə/: /kàlkəlé:ʃən/ 'calculation', particular (5.4.7) a., population, ridiculous

6.8. Syncope of a ME medial vowel or syllable occurs in the following words: company, medicine (5.9.3) n.

6.9-16. Final Syllables

6.9-12. Final Post-Tonic Vowels

6.9. Late ME /-i/ remains: barley (5.24.1), nasty (5.21.4), pity n., pottery (5.27.4), poultry, tansy, turkey, very (5.14.5. Note) adv. (ME ai (ei) > ē > ĭ, Dobson II 1968, §275. Note 2 (c))

6.10. ME /-dai/ '-day' >/-də/ in compounds (6.18): holiday, Saturday (5.9.5), Tuesday (5.88.1), yesterday (5.4.8, 5.13)

6.11. Late ME [ou]~[o]~[u] '-ow' >/ə/ (Dobson II 1968, §§280,295): borrow (5.27.1), follow (5.27.1), marrow (5.17.1), pillow (5.4.3) n., sparrow (5.17.1), widow n., yellow a.

6.12. AN /-y/ appears as /-i/: /á:gi/ 'argue' (5.24.3), nephew (5.9.3), value n.

6.13-16. Non-Final Post-Tonic Vowels

6.13. Suffixes containing ME e /ə/: [ə] tended to become [ɪ] in later ME and in ModE (Dobson II 1968, §293 (b)). Final [l] and [n] are often syllabic.

-el, -le /il/: bushel
/il/~/əl/ [l̩]: gravel (5.17.4) n.
/əl/ [əl]: barrel (5.17.4) n.
/əl/ [l̩]: simple (5.4.7) a., steeple, strangle (5.17.5)

-en /in/: kitchen (5.4.3), linen (5.4.2)
/in/~/ən/ [ən]: wagon (eModE -en, -an) (5.22. Note)
/ən/ [ən]: boughten (5.31.1, 8.24.4) p.p.
/ən/ [n̩]: putten (5.33.1, 8.24.4) p.p., risen (5.4.1) p.p., sitten (5.4.1, 8.24.1) p.p., written (5.4.1) p.p.

-ence /əns/: difference, licence n.

-ent /ənt/: different (5.4.7), innocent a., present (5.9.3) a.

-er /ər/: barter n., butcher (5.33.6) n., butter (5.33.1) n., river (5.4.7), spinster (5.4.1), suckler, tinker (5.4.12) n.

-ess /əs/: missus 'wife' < eModE mistress

-est /ist/: honest
/əst/: forest (5.27.4) n.

-et /it/: basket (5.21.4) n., blanket n., hamlet (5.17.4), jacket (5.17.4) n., linnet, market (5.24.3) n., rabbit (5.19) n.
/it/~/ət/: bucket (5.33.6) n., pocket n., socket (5.27.4) n.

Note. Cf. blankit Will of M. Hodgson of Egton (ClW 1692)

-less /ləs/: harmless

-ment /mənt/: agreement, compartment (6.4), garment (5.24.3) n., government, implement (6.6.1) n., Parliament (6.6.2), payment (5.78.3)
/ment/: sentiment (5.9.3)

-ness /nis/: business
/nəs/: kindness

6.14. ME /i/ before a consonant remains in the words below. Before [l] and [n] the vowel has often disappeared.
Examples: artist, attic, biscuit, chemist, civil, cousin (5.33.6), engine (5.13.4) n., granite, music, office, perfect a., profit (5.27.4) n., raisin (5.78.3), service (5.14.5) n.
/ə/ was recorded in turnip (5.38).
Note. Cf. perfitt Will of Th. Petch of Egton (ClW 1616).

6.15. ME /a:/ and /ai/ in final syllables. [l] and [n] are sometimes syllabic.
6.15.1. ME /a:/.
-age /idʒ/: advantage (5.17.5) n., damage, vicarage
-ate /e:t/: separate (5.9.3) v.
/it/: private (5.43.6) a.
6.15.2. ME /ai/.
/i/: bargain n., captain n., harness (5.24.3) n.
/i/~/ə/: palace
/ə/: always (5.23.1. Note 5, 6.18, 7.27), rascal (5.21.3) n.
/əl/ [l̩]: travel (5.17.4)
/ən/ [n̩]: sudden (5.33.6) a.

6.16. ME /a/, /o/, /u/, /u:/ before a consonant have generally become [ə], which often disappears before [l], [n].
6.16.1. ME /a/: lilac; bullace (5.33.6); artificial, final (5.43.6), metal n., offal (5.27.1); publican; balance n., distance n., entrance n., instance n.; elephant, pheasant (5.9.3), ignorant; canvas
6.16.2. ME /o/: freedom; gallon, London, pardon n., poison (5.93.2), prison (5.4.7) n.; bishop, gallop n.; visitor; abbot (5.17.1), carrot
6.16.3. ME /u/, /u:/: /ə/: parlour, rumour n.; famous, jealous; murmur (5.37.2) v.; lettuce (5.9.3)
/u/: armful, handful, useful
/əl/ [l̩]: wonderful (5.35.1)

6.17. Parasite Vowel
An /ə/-glide was found between two consonants, one of which is /l/ or /r/: /éləm/ 'elm', /kínəlin/ 'kindling' (5.4.6, 7.18), /wórəm/ 'worm' (5.37.1).

6.18. Weakening in Compounds

In the following compounds either the vowel of the unstressed part alone has been affected or, in two words (always, somewhat), the consonant + the vowel: /nóbət/ (5.27.2, 8.10.2) nobbut 'only' (cf. /but/ 'but'), /ínkəm/ 'income' (cf. /kum/ 'come'), /tɪúzdə/ (5.88.1, 6.10) 'Tuesday' (cf. /de:/ 'day'), /stágəθ/ (5.24.2, 7.28.3) stack-garth 'stackyard' (cf. /ga:θ/ 'garth'), /íŋləɴd/ 'England' (cf. /land/ 'land'), /fútmən/ 'footman' (cf. /man/ 'man'), /ómɔst/ (5.23.1. Note 4) 'almost' (cf. /miɔst/ 'most'), /síkspəns/ 'sixpence' (cf. /pens/ 'pence'), /wétstən/ 'whetstone' (cf. /stiən/ 'stone'), /ó:ləz/ (5.23.1. Note 5, 6.15.2, 7.27) 'always' (cf. /we:z/ 'ways'), /súmət/ (5.33.1, 7.27, 8.19.1) somewhat 'something' (cf. /wat/ 'what')

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7.1. In this chapter consonantal changes not found in StE will be treated. The basis for the historical development will usually be NME.

7.2-9. CHANGES WITHOUT LOSS OR ADDITION

7.2-9. Changes other than Assimilation

7.2. Substitution of /n/ for ME /ŋ/ in -ing and -ling

/n/ for final /ŋ/ in unstressed position appears in the North as early as the 14th century (Jordan 1968, §175). Orton (1933) adduces numerous spellings with n for ng from the middle of the 15th century and inverted ng for n from the middle of the 14th century (§§257-8). YoDial (1684) has e.g. liggin 97,

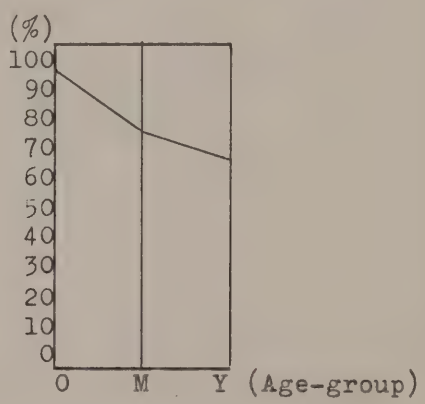
Incklin 433, and Eldin 444, but the -ing forms are in the majority. Cf. also my workyn geare Will of Th. Sympson of Egton (ClW 1557), shillins Will of J. Gurwood of Egton (ClW 1648), cosinge 'cousin' Will of R. Davison of Egton Bridge (ClW 1551), kitching Inventory of Th. Wattson of Egton (ClW 1692).

The high frequency of /in/ is shown in Table 59. There is a clear tendency. The percentage of /in/ in age-group Young (68.1%) is smaller than those in age-groups Old (98.4%) and Mid (78.3%). The women of the Mid and Young groups have larger percentages of RP/StE /iŋ/ tokens (Mid 69.7%, Young 33.3%) than the men of the same groups (Mid 9.4%, Young 31.9%). /in/ will presumably be heard in Egton for several generations.

Table 59. Percentage of tokens having /in/ and RP/StE /iŋ/ in the suffixes -ing and -ling by age-group (7.2)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/in/	98.4	78.3	68.1
/iŋ/	1.6	21.7	31.9
Tokens	250	161	232
Types	104	74	95

Graphic representation of Table 59: Percentage of /in/



7.3. Late ME /-x/ > /-f/

Late ME /x/ appears as /f/ (Jordan 1968, §§197,294) in /pliəf/ 'plough' (5.68).

7.4. OE sc [sx] > NME /s-/ > Egton /s-/

In the North OE sc [sx] became [s] in unstressed position in the 10th century (Jordan 1968, §§181,183). Suld 'should' first appears in the 13th century (OED Shall). Cf. suld CMCo 410, 461, PrConsc 3705, and sud YoDial (1684) 313, 525.

/sud/ instead of RP/StE /ʃud/ was recorded only twice in age-groups Old and Mid.

7.5. ME /-ð-/ > Egton /-d-/

In early ME medial /ð/ changed into /d/ before an unstressed vowel in ON words (Björkman 1900, 1902, pp. 159-67). The only example found is stiddy (2x Old, 5.13.3) 'anvil' < NME stedy < ON steði (OED Stithy, sb.). Cf., however, stebi CMCo 23237.

7.6. ME /-d-/ (< OE d) before /-ər/

In late ME /d/ before /ər/ became /ð/ via [dð] (Luick 1964, §752.1a + Anm. 3). In Northern dialects, however, the intermediate stage [dð] was retained and partly turned back to [d] (Jordan 1968, §298). Cf. to gider Will of Th. Dawson of Egton (ClW 1539).

[d], which is now of rare occurrence, was recorded beside the common RP [ð] in mother (5.67.1) (2x Mid), together (5.4.8, 5.13) (2x Old), and only with male informants.

7.7. ME /-ð-/ (< OE ð) before /-ər/

The change of ME /ð/ before /ər/ into [dð] or [d], which started in early ME (Luick 1964, §725), is still traceable in brother (5.67.1) (1x Old), leather (5.9.1) n. (1x Old), and other (5.67.1) (2x Mid), which now have [d] beside the common RP [ð]. The women use only RP [ð]. Cf. broder Will of H. Holland of Egton (ClW 1525), bredren Will of J. Dale of Egton (ClW 1548), breders Will of R. Richardson (ClW 1551), and oder Will of J. Peel of Egton (ClW 1549).

7.8. ME /(-)t-/ before /-r-/ and /-ər/

ME /t/ before /r/ and /ər/ appears as [t] in true (5.89.1) a. (1x Old) and water (5.22.1) n. (1x Old, 2x Mid) beside regular [t] (4.28-9) (Luick 1964, §752.2). [t] with a fricative release [θ] before /r/ and /ər/ was noted by Cowling (1915, §28). The spelling th for old t in dauther 'daughter' (Will of W. White of Egton, ClW 1703) may indicate a change of pronunciation.

7.9. ME /θr-/ > Egton /tr-/ [tr]

[tr] beside RP [θɹ] was recorded for ME /ər/ in three (5.48.3) (8x Old, 4x Mid), through (9x Old, 6x Mid, 2x Young), and throw (5.82.4, 8.23.3) (1x Old, 1x Mid). [t] instead of [θ] in these words may be a way of evading the difficulties of articulation that [θ] seems to offer (cf. Gimson 1973, 8:16 (3)). The occurrence of [tr] in a word like true (7.8) may have facilitated this development. The instability of the pronunciation of [θ] can also be seen in

[tinɛ] (5.4.3) 'thinned' (1x Mid) and [aˈsiŋk] (5.4.3) 'I think' (1x Old, 2x Young). In some of these cases assimilation is also possible, e.g. I went through ... So I nearly got through (4.32.1).

7.10-11. Assimilation of Consonants

7.10. Regressive Assimilation

7.10.1. Unvoicing of ME /-d/ occurs in /biínt/ (5.5.1) 'behind' (2x Mid), probably owing to a following voiceless consonant: behind þe > behint þe (Luick 1964, §713. Anm. 4).

7.10.2. ME /ŋ/ before /θ/ appears as /n/ in /lenθ/ (5.9.1) 'length' (2x Old). Cf. lenth CMCo 1642, lenthe PrConsc 5899

7.10.3. /gan/ gan (5.20.1) 'go' (2x Mid) may be derived from /gaŋ/ gang (< OE gangan) with change of /ŋ/ to /n/ before /s/ in inflected forms. Cf. gang CMCo 1709, PrConsc 194, YoDial (1684) 42, YoMiScr (1833) 32. Derivation from OE gān is less likely. The spelling geay (YoDial (1684) 24, 121) seems to suggest raising of OE ā and subsequent diphthongization in north-east Yorkshire (cf. 5.56-7).

7.11. Progressive Assimilation

/θ/ of OE, eME þū 'thou' (5.71.1, 8.12.2) appears as Egton /t/ after /s/. This change started as early as the OE period, e.g. berestu < beres + þu (Campbell 1971, §481 (1)). Cf. ista ganging 345 'Are you going' in YoDial (1684). Only two examples were found in age-group Mid.

Example: /istə plé:in təní:t/ 'Is thou playing tonight?'

7.12-14. ADDITION OF CONSONANTS

7.12. Addition of [h-]

One example of [h-] added for the sake of emphasis before a word beginning with a vowel was recorded in age-group Old: [ˈnǫ:: ˈhin ˈhin ˈhin ɪˈsɛz] 'in'.

7.13. Addition of /-t/

A homorganic stop has developed after /s/ in /píəsteg/ (5.9.2, 5.59) paste-egg (1x Old, 1x Mid) 'Easter egg' (< lNME paas, pase (OED Pace, sb.^{2})) and /skélbiəst/ (5.11, 5.58.2, 7.28.2) skell-beast (2x Old, 1x Mid) 'partition in cow-stall' (< ON bás-s). The occurrence of /biəst/ (5.54.6) 'beast' and

/piəst/ (5.58.6) 'paste' may have facilitated this development. Cf. e.g. StE against (Luick 1964, §765.2a).

7.14. Addition of /v/

A /v/ has developed between the weak forms of frae 'from' (11x Old, 12x Mid), to (5.67.1) (13x Old, 11x Mid, 2x Young), /wi/ (5.4.1, 7.25) 'with' (10x Old, 8x Mid), and a following vowel. Cf. Cockney /v/ instead of RP /ð/ in e.g. father and smooth (Sivertsen 1960, 4.222).
Examples: /frəvə/ 'frae a' (p. 162), /tivər/ 'to her' (p. 168), /wivim/ 'with him' (p. 167)

7.15-27. LOSS OF ME CONSONANTS

7.15-16. Initial Consonants

7.15. Loss of /h-/

In districts 31 (= West Northern) and 32 (= North Northern) of Ellis's Northern division of English dialects (1889, pp. 494-680) initial /h/ remained while it had disappeared in district 30 (= East Northern = the East Riding of Yorkshire, the greater part of the North Riding, including Egton, and a small portion of the West Riding). Cowling (1915, §409) also noted the absence of initial /h/.

According to Luick (1964, §§716.1,790) the disappearance of /h/ in accented syllables started in the 15th century. In unaccented syllables it began earlier. The following h-less words from local 16th century wills may show that initial [h] had ceased to be pronounced in accented syllables: thelthe 'the health' Will of H. Holland of Egton (ClW 1525), thande 'the hand' and Vmphray (2x) 'Humphrey' Will of R. Davison of Egton Bridge (ClW 1551), Vmfray 'Humphrey' Will of M. Ducke of Egton (ClW 1557), Sainct Ylde 'St Hilde' Will of J. Richardson of Egton (ClW 1564). The first two examples are suspect. The spelling th- may represent the definite article /θ/ before /h-/, or even /t/, if this definite article really existed in Yorkshire as early as the 16th century (cf. 8.2.3).

One modern instance of the prefixing of [h] to a word beginning with a vowel for the sake of emphasis has been recorded (7.12). The following 17th century example is probably not due to emphasis: hus 'us' Will of Th. Anneson of Egton (ClW 1624). It seems to be an inverted spelling. The writer was aware

of the fact that he often failed to pronounce an etymological /h/ initially, tried to correct himself, but then he inserted it in the wrong place.

In YoDial (1684) there are no h-less words. The use of the indefinite article an in front of heap 96, Hogg 125, hour 145, and House 639 may, however, indicate the loss of /h/ because, in all other cases, a is used exclusively in front of words beginning with a consonant.

It is probable that the pronunciation of h- was unstable in early ModE (Luick 1964, §790), which seems to be confirmed by the double development of ME /ha:-/ to [ja] and [hiə] in several Northern dialects (Orton 1933, §359). If [h] was not pronounced, the result was [ja] owing to stress-shifting of initial [ia]>[iá] (5.60). If, on the other hand, it was sounded, ME /ha:-/ changed into [hiə]. This instability of /h-/ in accented syllables was presumably prevalent in all h-words and at last levelling took place in favour of the h-less pronunciation in Egton. Owing to RP influence /h-/ is now on its way back into the dialect.

Table 60. Percentage of tokens having /h-/-lessness and RP/StE /h-/ in accented syllables by age-group (7.15)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/h-/-lessness	81.9	65.5	42.0
/h-/	18.1	34.5	58.0
Tokens	216	168	226
Types	45	36	51

Graphic representation of Table 60: Percentage of /h-/-lessness

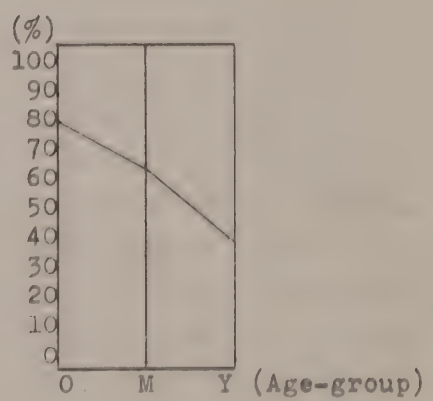


Table 60 shows that the /h-/-less tokens are in the majority in age-groups Old (81.9%) and Mid (65.5%), but in the minority in group Young (42%). Women may be the introducers of /h-/ (cf. e.g. 5.58). The women have much larger percentages of /h-/ tokens (Mid 83.3%, Young 94.7%) than the men (Mid 11%, Young 47.8%). Despite the clear trend towards an increase of RP /h-/ tokens, /h-/-lessness may be found in Egton for several generations.

7.16. Early NME /kw-/ > Egton /w-/

Early NME /kw-/ (< OE cw-, ON kv-, OF qu-, cu-) appears as /w-/ in whickens (5.4.1) 'couch-grass' (2x Old) and whie (5.43.4) 'heifer' (2x Old). It was thus levelled under NME /xw-/ (< OE hw-) in the following way: NME /xw/, /kw/ > /xw/ > /ʍ/ > /w/. Words with /kw-/, e.g. quarry (5.22.3) n. and quiet a., are late loan-words.

Orton (1933, §267.1-2) found Northern wh and w spellings for OE cw, OF qu, and ON kv from the 13th century on, which suggests coalescence of early NME /kw/ and NME /xw/. Cf. also why, whye, wye (< ON kvíga) 'heifer' Wills of R. Davison of Egton Bridge (ClW 1551), J. Hyrde of Egton (ClW 1559), M. Harland of Egton Bridge (ClW 1669), and whickens 107 YoDial (1684).

7.17-27. Medial and Final Consonants

7.17. Loss of /b/ in /-mb-/

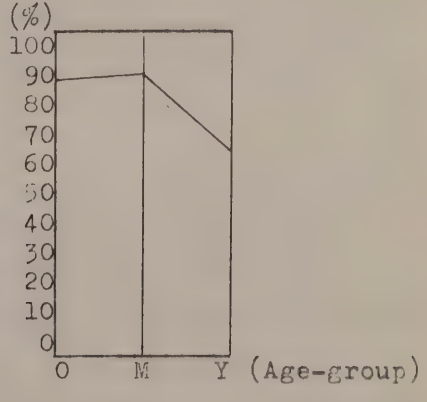
/b/ has been lost in assemble (1x Old) (cf. Luick 1964, §764.1).

No excrescent /b/ has developed in /grumǝl/ 'grumble' (2x Old) and /θimǝl/ (5.4.4) 'thimble' (1x Old).

Table 61. Percentage of tokens (e.g. candle, hand(ful)) having /n/ and RP /nd/ by age-group (7.18)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/n/	90.9	93.3	66.7
/nd/	9.1	6.7	33.3
Tokens	33	15	21
Types	9	5	6

Graphic representation of Table 61: Percentage of /n/



7.18. Loss of /d/ in /-nd(-)/

/d/ has been lost in /nd/ (cf. Luick 1964, §764.2)

1) finally: friend (5.10.3), hand (5.17.1), husband (5.33.2), stand (5.17.1) v.,

thousand (5.71.1)

2) medially before a consonant: /bun/ (< /bund(ə)n/) 'bound' p.p. (5.35.1, 8.24.3), candle (5.17.1), friends (5.10.3), /fun/ (< /fund(ə)n/) 'found' p.p. (5.35.1, 8.24.3), grandson, grounds (5.35.1) 'dregs', handful (6.16.3), kindling (5.4.6, 6.17), landlord

Cf. granchild Will of Th. Yeaman of Egton (ClW 1693)

/d/ in the words of this category is probably due to the influence of the spelling and of RP. /d/ is, however, elided when medial in a cluster of three consonants in rapid colloquial speech even in RP (Gimson 1973, 9.06 (2b), 11.10 (2)).

Table 61 shows that /n/ is strongly represented in age-groups Old (90.9%) and Mid (93.3%), but is ceding ground to /nd/ in age-group Young (66.7%). The women of the Mid and Young groups use /n/ to about the same extent as the men of the same groups (7.2). This distribution of /n/ and /nd/ is, however, of little value because we do not know in what kind of speech the relevant words occur. Since /d/ is sometimes lost in RP it is probable that /n/ instead of /nd/ will also continue to exist in the dialect.

7.19. Loss of /g/ in /-ŋg-/

/g/ has been lost after /ŋ/ not only finally as in RP/StE but also medially (cf. Luick 1964, §764.3). Medial /ŋ/ (= RP/StE /ŋg/) was only found in age-groups Old (10x = 83.3%) and Mid (4x = 100%).

Examples: English (5.4.8), finger (5.4.1) n., hungry, language, single a., younger (5.33.1), youngest (5.33.1)

For substitution of /-n/ for ME /-ŋ/ in the suffixes -ing and -ling see 7.2.

7.20. Loss of /-k-/

Medial /k/ has disappeared in /ast/ (5.21.1) 'asked' pret. (2x Old, 1x Mid) (cf. Jordan 1968, §182. Anm. 1; Gimson 1973, 9.06 (2), 11.10 (2)), /tiən/ (5.58.5) 'taken' p.p. (1x Old, 1x Mid) (< ON takinn), cf. tan CMCo 299, 4030

/as/ (5.17.1, 8.6.1) 'ashes' (2x Old) (< ON aska, OE ascan pl.) has probably arisen from compounds like ash-bin, in which /k/ was lost in a heavy consonant group (Luick 1964, §692. Anm.).

7.21. Loss of /-l-/ (before /C/) and /-l/

/l/ has been lost after the NME short back vowels /a/, /o/, and /u/ before

a consonant, and, in two words, also finally after ME /a/ and /o/. The change seems to have started in the 14th century (Orton 1933, §§292,400,406,410). The occurrence of /l/ variants is due to RP/StE influence. The distribution of /l/-less cold, fold, hold, old, scald, and corresponding RP/StE /l/ tokens is shown in Table 31.

7.21.1. NME /al/ finally and before a consonant (5.23)

/o:/: scald v. (5.23.3)

/o:/~/o:l/: all, cold, fold n., old (5.23.1)

7.21.2. NME /ol/ finally and before a consonant (5.29)

/au/: holme f.n.el. 'water-meadow' (5.29.2), mouldy-warp 'mole', stolen p.p. (5.29.1)

/au/~/aul/: bowl 'vessel to hold liquids' (5.29.1)

7.21.3. NME /ul/ before a consonant (5.36)

/u:/: coulter (5.36.1)

7.22. Loss of /-n/ (cf. Luick 1964, §715.1)

/-n/ has been lost in

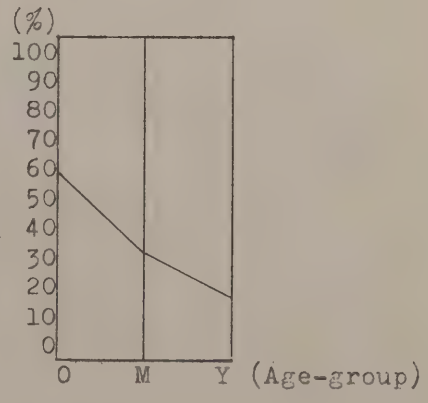
1) the prepositions in (14x Old, 14x Mid, 2x Young) and on (6x Old, 4x Mid) (5.27.1, 8.26.2) before a consonant, e.g. /itfórists/ 'in the forests' (p. 169), /otlánd/ 'on the land' (p. 170). Cf. YoDial (1684) i`th chaire 63, o`th Reel 176

2) /ja:/ 'one' before a consonant (< OE ān) (5.60.1 + Note, 8.11.1), e.g. /já: mó:nin/ 'one morning' (p. 167).

Table 62. Percentage of tokens (e.g. car, water) having non-linking post-vocalic /-r/ and corresponding RP /-r/-lessness by age-group (7.23)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/-r/	61.2	34.5	18.7
/-r/-lessness	38.8	65.5	81.3
Tokens	250	200	300
Types	63	56	65

Graphic representation of Table 62: Percentage of /-r/



7.23. Loss of /-r(-)/

ME /r/ has fallen in the same way as in StE except
1) before /k/ and /m/ in /fork/ (5.30.1) 'fork', /mork/ (5.6.1) murk f.n.el. 'dark, muddy', /work/ (5.37.1) 'work' (p. 169), /storm/ (5.30.1) 'storm' n., /worm/ (5.37.1, 6.17) 'worm' n.
2) sometimes in word-final (non-linking), e.g. /fá:mər/ 'farmer' (p. 160), /iər/ (5.50.3) 'here' (p. 166), /máinər/ (5.43.6) 'miner' (p. 160), /wátər/ (5.22.1, 7.8) 'water' n. (p. 167)

Table 62 shows that word-final post-vocalic /r/ is retained to a great extent in age-group Old (61.2%) while it is being lost in age-groups Mid (34.5%) and Young (18.7%). There is thus a clear trend towards a decrease in the use of non-linking /r/ in word-final. /-r/-lessness will presumably prevail in a couple of generations owing to RP influence.

7.24. Loss of /-t-/

Loss of /t/ occurs in the three consonant cluster /-sts/: /biəs/ (5.54.6) 'beasts' (2x Old, 1x Mid, 1x Young)

7.25. Loss of /-ð/ (cf. Luick 1964, §763.2)

/ð/ is often not sounded in the weak form of with (16x Old, 12x Mid). Before a vowel a /v/ has developed after /wi/ (5.4.1, 7.14).

Examples: /wiʃi:p/ 'with sheep' (p. 165), /wivim/ 'with him' (p. 167), /wivivàkjuí:z/ 'with evacuees' (p. 168)

7.26. Loss of /-v(-)/ (Luick 1896, §396, 1964, §§745,766)

/v/ has been vocalized to /u/ in /əbú:n/ (5.71.2, 8.10.2) aboon (3x Old, 2x Mid) 'above' adv., cf. abowen PrConsc 4760 < OE abufan; /áuər/ (5.85.4) 'over' (11x Old, 3x Mid, 2x Young), NME ower, our < OE ofer (OED Over, adv.).

Loss of /v/ occurs in /gi/ (+ consonant) (5.4.1) 'give' v. (2x Old, 1x Mid), /ga/ (+ consonant) (5.17.1) 'gave' p.t. (1x Old, 1x Mid), /nívər/ (5.13.2) 'never' (1x Old), and /sen/~/sel/ (5.9.1, 6.2, 8.16) '-self', ME selven > seln > sen and sel.

The weakly stressed have (5.9.5. Note, 8.25) (23x Old, 26x Mid, 8x Young) and of (8.26.2) (48x Old, 36x Mid, 11x Young) often occur without a /-v/ before consonants, e.g. /wót kanjugít wèn juenáut/ 'what can you get when you have naught' (p. 168), /əglásərúm/ 'a glass of rum' (p. 164), /jánət ládz/ 'one of the lads' (p. 168).

7.27. Loss of /-w-/

/w/ has disappeared in unstressed position after a consonant in /ǒ:ləz/ (5.23.1. Note 5, 6.15.2, 6.18) 'always' (13x Old, 7x Mid) and /sṷməṭ/ (5.33.1, 6.18, 8.19.1) somewhat 'something'.

7.28. Substitution of /k/ for /tʃ/, /sk/ for /ʃ/, and /g/ for /dʒ/

/k/, /sk/, and /g/ in the words below are due to Scandinavian substitution of /k/ for /tʃ/, /sk/ for /ʃ/, and /g/ for /dʒ/, or to borrowing of ON words (cf. Jordan 1968, §§179,182,189,192).

7.28.1. NME /k/ remains in the following words: beck (5.9.2) 'brook', cf. becc CMGö 8946; bink (5.4.11) 'bench', cf. binck CMGö 5321; sikelike (5.44) 'such-like', sleck (5.9.2) 'quench (fire)'

7.28.2. /sk/ occurs in skell-beast (5.11, 5.58.2, 7.13) 'partition in cow-stall'

7.28.3. NME /g/ remains in the following words: garth (5.24.2, 6.18) 'enclosure, yard', cf. garthe CathAngl (1483) 42, 151; gill (5.4.5) 'ravine with a stream', gimmer (5.4.6) 'young ewe'; brig 'bridge'~RP /bridʒ/ (5.4.6), cf. brig CMGö 8945; mig (5.4.1) 'urine', rigg (5.4.6) 'ridge'

7.29. Viability of Non-Standard Consonantal Forms

The non-standard characteristics mentioned in this chapter will probably have disappeared in one or two generations owing to RP/StE influence. The most important exceptions are /-in/ instead of /-iŋ/ (7.2) and /h-/-lessness (7.15), which may continue to exist for several generations.

8. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

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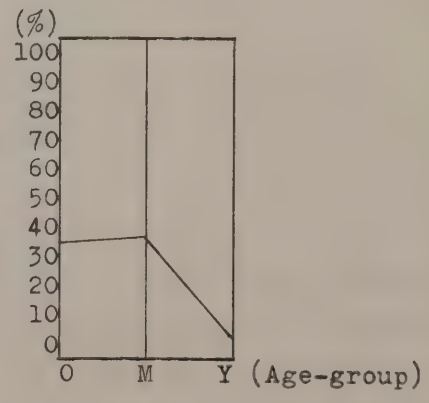
8.1. The aim of this chapter is mainly to describe morphological and syntactical deviations from StE.

Table 63. Percentage of tokens having /t/ and RP/StE /ðə/, /ði/ as the definite article by age-group (8.2.1)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/t/	36.7	39.7	5.6
/ðə/, /ði/	63.3	60.3	94.4
Tokens	215	179	196

Graphic representation of Table 63: Percentage of /t/



8.2-3. ARTICLES

8.2. The Definite Article

8.2.1. The Egton definite article /t/ (Table 63) is fairly frequent in age-groups Old (36.7%) and Mid (39.7%), but it is of rare occurrence in the Young age-group (5.6%). It is being ousted by RP/StE /ðə/ and /ði/, which are used almost exclusively (98.7%) by the women of age-group Mid. The female informant of the Young group has only RP tokens. It is probable that the definite article /t/ will have disappeared in two generations.

8.2.2. /t/ (< ME þe, cf. Jordan 1968, §154, Luick 1964, §717.4) was used in all positions in districts 30 (= East Northern) and 31 (= West Northern) of Ellis's (1889, pp. 497, 539) Northern Division of English dialects. Ellis called it "the suspended (tˇ)" (p. 497). (ˇ) "marks suspension of the organs of speech for a sensible time" (p. 88), which probably refers to the missing release stage of the plosive (cf. Gimson 1973, 8.05).

/t/ seems to be enclitic if the preceding syllable ends in a vowel or /n/. /t/ also merges with a preceding /t/.

Examples: [ɪntət ˈpan] 'into the pan' (p. 166), [ɪtʔməˈɹiːnz] 'in the marines' (p. 170), [ˈjanət ˈladʒ] 'one of the lads' (p. 168), [ətˈfaːm] 'at the farm', [ətˈʃɒp] 'at the shop'

If /t/ cannot be enclitic, it becomes proclitic before a vowel. Before consonants there seem to be no clear rules. Proclitic /t/ is used before /r/ (1x) and /s/ (2x). [ʔ] replaces [t] before plosives (4x), nasals (2x), fricatives (2x), /w/ (1x), and vowel (1x). [tə] occurs before fricatives (4x).

Examples: [ˈðat wəz ʈadˈvaɪs] 'That was the advice' (p. 170), [ðəwəz ˈtɒsˈʃɷu] 'there was the Horse Shoe' (p. 163), [ˈup tˈɹɷəd] 'up the road', [ˈnɔːʒʔˈdɛːt] 'knows the date', [fɹəmtəˈstɛːʃn̩] 'from the station'

The definite article /t/ is sometimes accompanied by glottal closure before consonants and vowels. Table 64 shows that the largest percentage of glottalized /t/ is found before plosives, the smallest before /l/ and /j/. The more difficult the transition is from [t] to the following sound the larger the percentage of glottalized [t] seems to be (cf. Hedevind 1967, 2.48). Owing to the small number of tokens, however, some of the percentages may be unrepresentative. A survey of the definite article in Yorkshire has been made by W.E. Jones (1952, pp. 81-91).

Table 64. Percentage of [t] and [tʔ] as the definite article (8.2.2)

	Plosive	Nasal	Fricative	/w/	Vowel	/l/	/j/
[tʔ] +	43.1	21.4	21.1	14.3	3.8	0.0	0.0
[t] +	56.9	78.6	78.9	85.7	96.2	100	100
Tokens	51	14	57	7	52	8	4

8.2.3. In 16th and 17th century local wills the definite article is the before consonants, but th, presumably [θ], before vowels, e.g. thelthe 'the health' (see, however, 7.15) Will of H. Holland of Egton (ClW 1525), thafforesayd 'the aforesaid', thande 'the hand' (cf. 7.15) Will of R. Davison of Egton Bridge (ClW 1551), thother 'the other' Will of F. Hesleton of Egton (ClW 1650). In YoDial (1684) it is usually th [θ] before vowels as well as consonants. [θ] seems to have coalesced with a preceding preposition ending in a dental stop in e.g. at field 116 'at the field', at Kye 344 'at the cows'. t occurs after s in e.g. yonder ist Lad coming 41 'yonder is the lad coming', There´st Backon 220 'there is the baçon'. It is therefore probable that the change of [θ] to [t] started in the 17th century through sandhi assimilation with a preceding dental.

8.3. The Indefinite Article

The use of the indefinite article corresponds to that of StE, but four examples of /ə/ before vowels have been found in age-groups Old (2x) and Mid (2x), which probably reflects a tendency beginning in the 15th century to use a as the indefinite article not only before consonants but also before vowels (Jordan 1968, §172; Luick 1964, §715.1; Wright 1968, §§271,368).

Examples: /əágworm/ a hag-worm 'an adder', /awántə ánki/ 'I want a hanky' (p. 168), a interesting bloke, a ulcer

8.4-8. NOUNS

8.4. Gender of Nouns

It (8.13.3) is used of animals, plants, and lifeless things.

He (5.48.6) is unmarked for sex in: He (= the adder) was just swaying like that. When it was swaying like that, was it just going to spring at me? (age-

group Old).

With reference to artificial objects to express familiarity (cf. Zandvoort 1963, §366) he (him) are used in We saw him (= the aeroplane) going round. The tar-machine was there, and he was coming up that side (age-group Old).

She (5.48.3) is marked for sex in He saw a hag-worm (= adder). He got somebody to kill it. But before he killed it, she swallowed all her young (age-group Old).

8.5. Formation of the Genitive Singular

Two examples of an s-less genitive singular have been found in age-group Mid: the poor lad father, this here lad shibband (= shoe-lace). The omission of the ending was formerly common in all the Northern ModE dialects (Cowling 1915, §436.I(a)(b); Wright 1968, §387). Certain nouns, however, - former strong feminine nouns, weak declension nouns, or nouns of relationship - have probably never passed into the originally strong masculine declension with genitive singular -es. Cf. PrConsc: his awen moder body 447, þe hert rote 5293, an eghe twynkelyng 626. Cf. also my sowle healthe, my vnkell sone Will of R. Davison of Egton Bridge (ClW 1551), my sonne Mathew wife Will of R. Wilson of Egton (ClW 1558), my brother son, to Thomas Robinson childrenge Will of Th. Petch of Egton (ClW 1616), in Nicholas Willson hand Will of R. Breckon of Egton (ClW 1705).

Table 65. Percentage of tokens (mile, yard, foot, inch) having inflected and uninflected plurals after a numeral in non-compounds by age-group (8.6.2)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
Uninflected	74.0	90.0	33.3
Inflected	26.0	10.0	66.7
Tokens	23	10	12
Types	4	2	3

Graphic representation of Table 65: Percentage of uninflected plurals

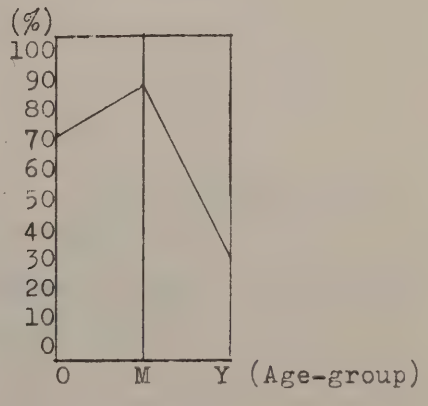


Table 66. Percentage of tokens (year, month, week) having inflected and uninflected plurals after a numeral in non-compounds by age-group (8.6.2)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
Uninflected	74.3	82.6	58.8
Inflected	25.7	17.4	41.2
Tokens	35	23	17
Types	3	3	2

Graphic representation of Table 66: Percentage of uninflected plurals

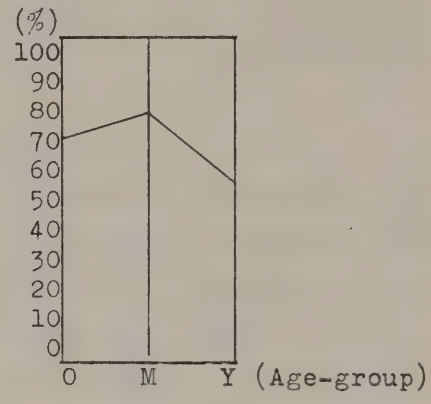
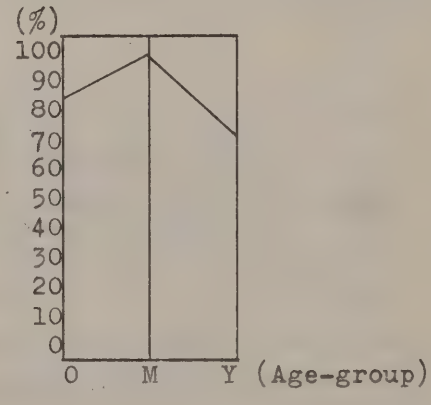


Table 67. Percentage of tokens (pound, shilling) having inflected and uninflected plurals after a numeral in non-compounds by age-group (8.6.2)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
Uninflected	86.7	100	75.0
Inflected	13.3	0.0	25.0
Tokens	30	9	12
Types	2	1	1

Graphic representation of Table 67: Percentage of uninflected plurals



8.6. Uninflected Plurals

8.6.1. The following nouns used collectively take no plural suffix: /as/ (5.17.1, 7.20) 'ash(es)' (2x Old), hare (2x Old)

8.6.2. Nouns expressing measure of land, length, time, weight, and amount of money in non-compounds remain unchanged in the plural to a great extent when preceded by numerals. Some of these nouns, e.g. pound and year, had no nomina-

tive and accusative plural ending in OE. Cf. eight pound Will of E. Salven of Egton (ClW 1557), five pound Will of M. Hodgson of Egton (ClW 1692), twentie shilling Will of R. Pearson of Egton (ClW 1672).

Examples: 26 acre (p. 169), 5 or 6 mile (p. 162), 20 year (p. 165), 8 bob (p. 161)

Acre (5.60.2), load (5.61), and ton always occur uninflected in the plural. The distribution of inflected and uninflected plurals of mile (5.43.1), yard, foot (5.48.2, 5.67.1), and inch (5.4.3) is shown in Table 65. The uninflected plurals are in the majority in age-groups Old (74%) and Mid (90%) while they are losing ground to the inflected ones in age-group Young (33.3%). The women have no tokens.

There are only inflected plurals of day (5.78.1), hour (5.73.3), and minute. Year (5.50.1), month (5.67.1), and week (5.48.7), on the other hand, have mostly uninflected tokens in age-groups Old (74.3%), Mid (82.6%), and Young (58.8%) as appears from Table 66. The female informants have usually inflected tokens (75% Mid, 100% Young).

Bob 'shilling' (5.28) is always unchanged in the plural. Pound (5.35.1) and shilling usually are. Table 67 shows the large percentages of uninflected tokens in age-groups Old (86.7%), Mid (100%), and Young (75%). The women have no tokens.

Since the percentages of uninflected nouns in age-groups Young (Tables 65-7) are smaller than those in age-groups Old or Mid, it is to be assumed that the inflected nouns will slowly increase in number for the next few generations. The percentages may, however, be unrepresentative, particularly in the Mid and Young age-groups, because of the small number of tokens.

8.7. Double Plurals

A new plural ending has been added to the ordinary plural suffix in gallowses (5.17.1) 'braces' (1x Old, 2x Mid), lasseses (5.21.4, p. 168) 'girls' (1x Mid), liveses (5.43.1) 'lives' (1x Old), and wineses (5.43.1) 'wines' (1x Old).

8.8. Countables and Uncountables

Peat (5.54.8) is used in the stem-form as a collective and in the plural in the sense of 'pieces of peat' (2x Old, 1x Mid).

8.9. ADJECTIVES

8.9. 1-4. The Comparison of Adjectives

8.9.1. The comparative suffix -er is added to back a. (OED Back, a.) in backer end (5.17.1) 'autumn' (1x Old) without giving any additional meaning to the positive.

8.9.2. A double comparative occurs in worser (5.37.1) (2x Old).

8.9.3. Two examples of nor instead of StE than after a comparative were found in age-group Old (18.2%): Tractors are much quicker nor horses. He was older nor me.

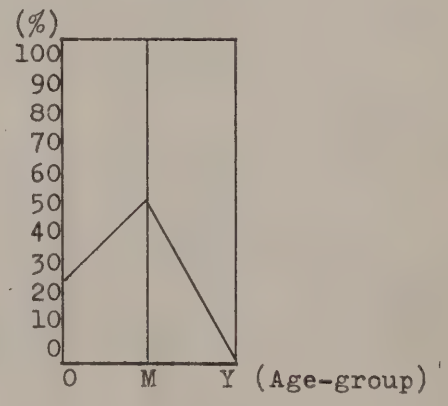
8.9.4. Oldest occurs in age-groups Old (2x) and Mid (2x) to indicate seniority among the members of a family.

Example: ... my oldest lad ...

Table 68. Percentage of tokens (adverbs) having /-li/-lessness and StE /-li/ by age-group (8.10.1)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/-li/-lessness	27.3	53.4	0.0
/-li/	72.7	46.6	100
Tokens	22	30	28
Types	18	22	26

Graphic representation of Table 68: Percentage of /-li/-lessness



8.10. ADVERBS

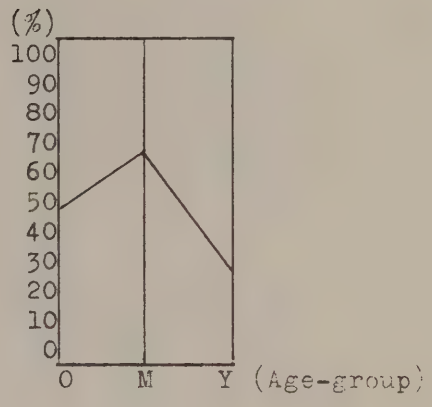
8.10.1. Table 68 shows that adverbs without StE /-li/ occur in age-groups Old (27.3%) and Mid (53.4%). They are descended from OE adverbs in -e (Brunner II 1962, pp. 57-9). Even the women of age-group Mid have /-li/-less tokens (50%). The absence of endingless tokens in the Young group makes it probable that StE /-li/ tokens will dominate completely in one or two generations.

Examples: It's an awful big area. You have room to walk about comfortable. He makes his wine regular.

Table 69. Percentage of aye and yes as affirmative particles by age-group (8.10.3)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
Aye 'yes'	51.2	68.2	30.0
Yes	48.8	31.8	70.0
Tokens	41	22	20

Graphic representation of Table 69: Percentage of aye



8.10.2. The following adverbs are used either in another sense or not at all in StE: aboon (5.71.2, 7.26) 'above' (3x Old, 2x Mid), all over 'all over the place' (2x Old), and all 'also' (2x Old), like 'so to speak' (45x Old, 37x Mid, 5x Young), nobbut (5.27.2, 6.18) 'only' (1x Old, 1x Mid), sin (5.4.1, 8.27) 'since, ago' (1x Old, 5x Mid), very near 'almost' (2x Old).

Examples: ... and we won all over with sheep ... (p. 165); And it's a big church and all; I can't just think on (= remember) them all like; And I nobbut had a pound when I left (p. 169); I've been there ever sin; We used to go to Scotland every year very near to buy tups (p. 165).

8.10.3. The affirmative particles are aye and yes. Aye (5.44) is in the majority (Table 69) in age-groups Old (51.2%) and Mid (68.2%), but is being superseded by StE yes (5.4.9, 5.13) in age-group Young (30%). One male informant, TS, is responsible for all the aye tokens of group Young (cf. e.g. 5.84). The women use only yes (cf. e.g. 8.2.1). Since aye occurs in the Young group, it is possible that it will continue to exist for one or two generations.

The negative particle is /no:/ 'no', borrowed from StE. Traditional /ne:/ nay (5.79.3) occurs only once in the Old group.

8.10.4. Eight examples of double negation were recorded in the Old age-group. Cf. ... that thay shall not clayme no parte of ther faither goodes Will of R. Helm of Egton (ClW 1540).

Example: And they wouldn't give me no more ... (p. 161)

8.11. NUMERALS

8.11.1. /jan/ 'one' is used in counting. Adjectivally, one is /ja:/ before consonants, /jan/ before vowels (5.60.1 + Note, 7.22.2).

8.11.2. One example of placing the lower digit before the higher occurs in the Old age-group: He was not here five and twenty minutes. This usage occurs in the dialects of the western and south western counties according to Wright (1968, §399).

Table 70. Percentage of /a/ 'I' and RP /ai/ in unstressed position by age-group (8.12.1)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/a/	75.4	85.7	91.2
/ai/	24.6	14.3	8.8
Tokens	57	35	57

Graphic representation of Table 70: Percentage of /a/ 'I'

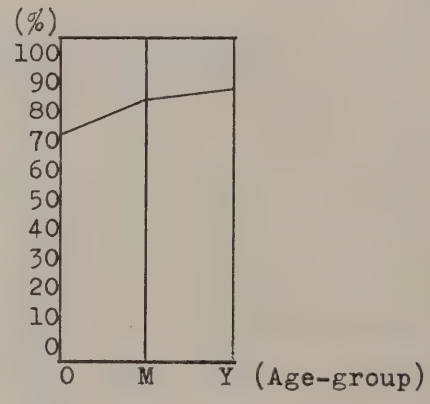


Table 71. Percentage of /a:/ 'I' and RP /ai/ in stress by age-group (8.12.1)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/a:/	65.0	72.7	82.4
/ai/	35.0	27.3	17.6
Tokens	20	11	17

Graphic representation of Table 71: Percentage of /a:/ 'I'

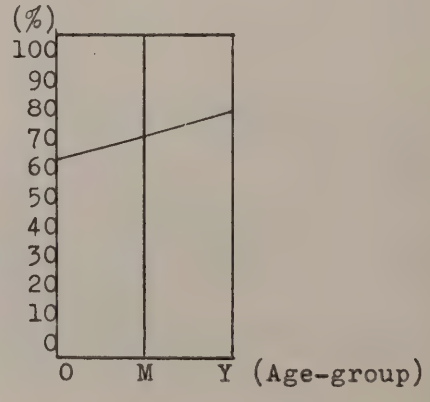
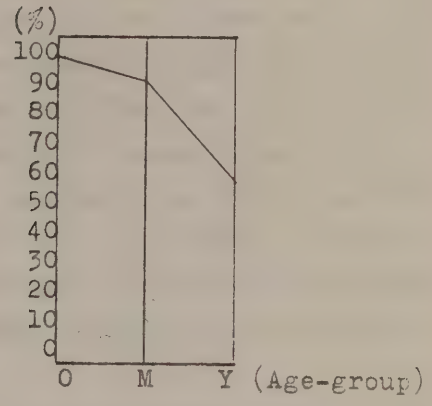


Table 72. Percentage of /əm/ 'em 'them' and RP /ðəm/ in unstressed position by age-group (8.12.3)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/əm/	100	93.3	60.0
/ðəm/	0.0	6.7	40.0
Tokens	35	15	15

Graphic representation of Table 72: Percentage of /əm/ 'em 'them'



8.12-19. PRONOUNS

8.12. Personal Pronouns

8.12.1. Beside /ai/, /a:/ 'I' occurs in stressed position and /a/ 'I' in unstressed position. The weak /a/ is the result of the destressing of /ai/ (< lNME /i:/). A new strong form /a:/ presumably developed from restressing the weak form /a/ (cf. Brunner II 1962, p. 100; Hedevind 1967, 9:30.1; Moore 1969, §129) and /ai/ went out of use. The present /ai/ may therefore be a reintroduction from RP. It has not, however, been able to supersede the weak /a/ and the strong /a:/, which are in the majority in all the three age-groups and are even more strongly represented in the Young age-group than in the Old and Mid age-groups (Tables 70-1). The women of age-groups Mid and Young have /a/ and /a:/ tokens to about the same extent as the men of the same groups. The trend seems therefore to be towards an increase in the use of /a/ and /a:/. It is, however, possible that the younger informants speak somewhat faster and more colloquially on an average, which, together with the difficulty of distinguishing between unstressed [a] and [aɪ] in rapid speech, may have led to the large percentage of unstressed /a/ among these informants. As regards stressed /a:/ and /ai/, there is too small a number of tokens to make the percentages reliable.

8.12.2. Only a few examples of the subject singular /ðu:/ (5.71.1) 'thou' (3x Mid), its weak forms /ðə/ (1x Mid) and /tə/ (2x Mid), which is used after /is/

'is' (7.11, 8.22.2), and the weak object singular /ðə/ 'thee' (1x Old) were recorded. Thou and thee have been ousted by you (ye).

8.12.3. /or/ (5.6.1) 'her' (< OE (Nhb) dative hir, Sievers & Brunner 1951, §334. Anm. 2) was found twice in age-groups Old and Mid.

The weak form /əm/ 'em 'them' (< OE dative heom, him, Sievers & Brunner 1951, §334) is used to a great extent instead of /ðəm/. Cf. YoDial (1684) um 172, 349, 393. Table 72 shows that /əm/ is the only type in age-group Old and also very frequent in age-groups Mid (93.3%) and Young (60%). The female informants have no tokens. There seems to be a clear trend towards a decrease in the use of /əm/, but, here again, the small number of tokens in age-groups Mid and Young must be taken into account. /əm/ is also used in very colloquial RP (Jones 1957, §488).

8.13. General Remarks on the Personal Pronouns

8.13.1. Appended statements, modelled on the main clause, occur in all the age-groups (5x Old, 2x Mid, 1x Young). Cf. colloquial StE (Zandvoort 1963, §658). The main clause contains a personal pronoun and the person or thing it refers to is specified by a noun in the appendix. The noun, which has end-position, is preceded by the relevant auxiliary or the copula be.

Examples: He's been all over, has old P. It's quite a decent area like, is the parish. And they were nearly all like plywood, was the aeroplanes.

8.13.2. Us (5.33.2) is used instead of me (2x Old, 2x Mid) in e.g.: Bring us a glass of ale. I've brought a good man with us again. Cf. colloquial StE (Zandvoort 1963, §357).

We (5.48.6) seems to be used instead of I (1x Old, 2x Mid) in e.g.: And we else remember (p. 167). And we were two year there ... (p. 168)

8.13.3. Traces of the ME and early ModE use of it (8.4) instead of there as a formal subject (Brunner II 1962, pp. 116-7) can be seen in the following sentences of age-group Mid: ... on the earth floor. It wasn't even flags; At the bottom of the bank it's two houses on the left.

8.14. There is (was)

In colloquial StE there is (was) is sometimes found with a subject in the plural (Zandvoort 1963, §748). This is the rule in all the three age-groups. Only one exception has been found in the Old age-group.

Examples: Mind there was eleven on (= of) us on t'estate then. I't'woods there's only three now (p. 169).

Table 73. Percentage of /mi/, /ma/, and RP /mai/ 'my' in unstressed position by age-group (8.15.1)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/mi/	76.1	88.2	88.2
/ma/	4.5	5.9	0.0
/mai/	19.4	5.9	11.8
Tokens	67	34	34

Graphic representation of Table 73: Percentage of /mi/ and /ma/ 'my'

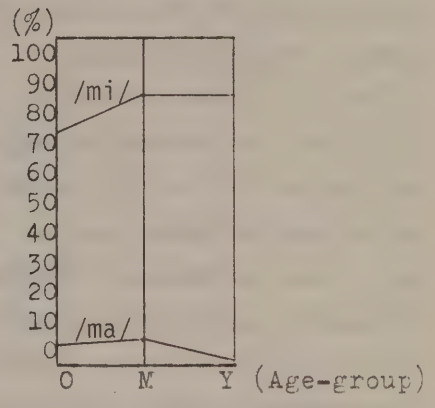
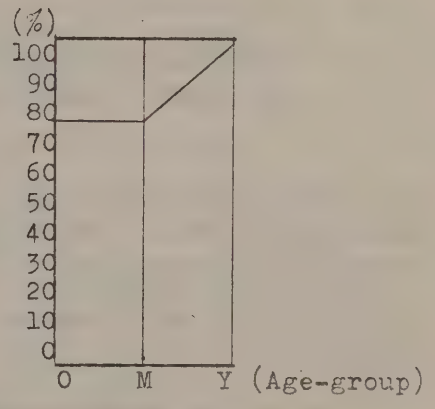


Table 74. Percentage of /ma:/ and RP /mai/ 'my' in stress by age-group (8.15.1)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/ma:/	80.0	80.0	100
/mai/	20.0	20.0	0.0
Tokens	10	5	4

Graphic representation of Table 74: Percentage of /ma:/ 'my'



8.15. Possessive Pronouns

8.15.1. Beside /mai/ 'my', /ma:/ occurs in stressed position (5.43.1) and /ma/, /mi/ in unstressed position. The weak /ma/ originates from the destressing of /mai/ (< NME /mi:/). Owing to the existence of the weak form /mi/ (< NME /mi/) the weak /ma/ may never have been able to establish itself in Egton. /mi/ is now the prevailing weak form. A new strong form /ma:/ was probably the result of the restressing of the weak /ma/ and /mai/ may have fallen out of use. Cf. I (8.12.1). The present /mai/ has therefore probably been reintroduced from RP.

Table 73 shows that unstressed /mi/ is strongly represented in all the three age-groups (Old 76.1%, Mid 88.2%, Young 88.2%). /ma/ seldom occurs in age-groups Old (4.5%) and Mid (5.9%) and not at all in the Young age-group. The women of group Mid have a large percentage of /mi/ tokens (71.4%), but not as large as the men of the same group (92.6%). They have, on the other hand, a larger percentage of /mai/ (14,3%) than the men (3.7%). The female informant of the Young group has no tokens. Unstressed /mai/ may increase in future at the expense of /mi/. Since, however, /mi/ is also a fairly frequent unstressed form in StE (Jones 1957, §473), it will probably hold its ground for a considerable time.

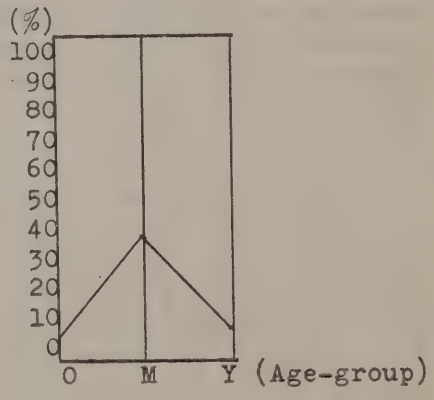
The percentages of stressed /ma:/ and /mai/ displayed in Table 74 are presumably unrepresentative because of the small number of tokens. The women have no tokens at all. It is not very likely that /mai/, the RP form, has been superseded by /ma:/ in the Young age-group. Cf., however, the distribution of stressed /a:/ and /ai/ 'I' (8.12.1), which shows a similar trend.

8.15.2. /it/ it 'its' (< NME (h)it, Luick 1964, §716.1; Moore 1969, §132) occurs once in the Mid group: It's lost it prime.

Table 75. Percentage of tokens having /-sen(z)/, /-sel(z)/, and StE /-self/, /-selvz/ '-self', '-selves' by age-group (8.16)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/-sen(z)/	5.6	40.0	8.3
/-sel(z)/	13.3	20.0	0.0
/-self/ /-selvz/	81.1	40.0	91.7
Tokens	18	15	12

Graphic representation of Table 75: Percentage of /-sen(z)/



8.16. Reflexive Pronouns

Beside StE /-self/ '-self' (5.9.1), /-selvz/ '-selves', /-sen(z)/ and /-sel(z)/ occur. /-sen/ may be the traditional Egton type while /-sel/ may be a late entry into the dialect. Cowling (1915, §443) has only /-sen(z)/. Accord-

ing to SED (1962-3, IX.11.1,2,4) the /-sen/ type is in the majority in Yorkshire. It is possible that /-seln/ (< ME selven), which still occurs in the south-west of the West Riding of Yorkshire (SED 1962-3, IX.11.1-4), developed differently in different places, either into /-sen/ or /-sel/ (7.26). The ME and early ModE use of the possessive pronoun in the third person is reflected in /isén/ (1x Mid) hisself 'himself' and /ðəsénz/ (1x Mid) theirselves 'themselves' (cf. Brunner II 1962, pp. 121-2).

/ðisén/ thyself (6.2) occurs twice in age-group Mid.

A reflexive is used in: Sit yourself down (1x Mid).

The /sen/, /sel/ types (Table 75) dominate in age-group Mid (60%). One male, JS, of this group (cf. e.g. 5.87) is responsible for all the /sen/ tokens and one third of the /sel/ tokens. In the Young group the only /sen/ token (8.3%) is attributable to a male, TS (cf. e.g. 8.10.3). The female informants have only StE-types, which will probably dominate completely in one or two generations. The percentages displayed in Table 75 may, however, be unreliable. Allowance must be made for the difficulty of distinguishing between /selz/ and /selvz/ in particular and the small number of tokens.

8.17. Demonstrative Pronouns

8.17.1. /ðem/ them (< ON þeim, OE þām, Moore 1969, §92) was found attributively and substantively (cf. Zandvoort 1963, §§420,422) instead of StE those to a great extent. Table 76 shows that them is almost exclusively used in age-groups Old (91.4%) and Mid (89.5%), but is being superseded by StE those in age-group Young (28.5%). One male, TS (cf. e.g. 8.16), answers for all the them tokens in the Young group. The women use only those. There is a clear trend towards a decreasing use of them, but here again, the small number of tokens, particularly in the Mid and Young age-groups, must be taken into account. It may be assumed that them will remain in Egton for a couple of generations.

Examples: There wasn't much pension in them days. And them lads used to make besoms. All them at's ('those who are') on the photo lives in the village. ... them trees at ('that') we planted ... (p. 169)

8.17.2. Yon 'that over there' was recorded twice in age-group Old and once in age-group Mid.

Examples: Yon side of Egton Bridge ... ... at yon hill ...

8.17.3. This (5.4.1) and these are sometimes followed by here attributively and substantively in age-groups Old (11.1%) and Mid (44.4%), probably without affecting the meaning (Table 77). This here is also used by the women of the Mid

Table 76. Percentage of /ðem/ them 'those' and StE those used attributively and substantively by age-group (8.17.1)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
them 'those'	91.4	89.5	28.5
Those	8.6	10.5	71.5
Tokens	35	19	14

Graphic representation of Table 76: Percentage of them 'those'

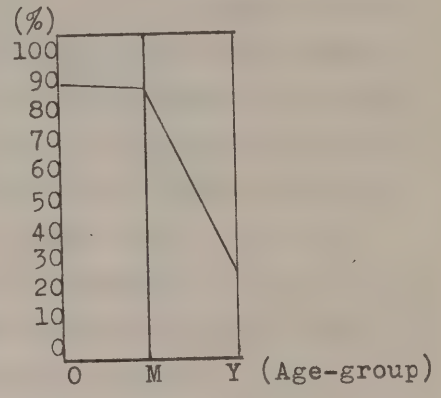
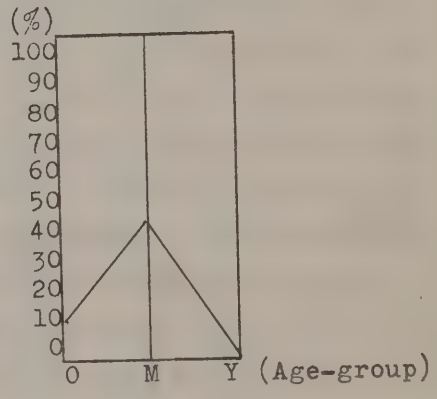


Table 77. Percentage of this (these) here and StE this (these) used attributively and substantively by age-group (8.17.3)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
This (These) here	11.1	44.4	0.0
This (these)	88.9	55.6	100
Tokens	18	9	12

Graphic representation of Table 77: Percentage of this (these) here



age-group. The absence of this (these) here tokens in the Young group may indicate that such tokens are disappearing in the dialect. Too few instances may, however, make the percentages unrepresentative.

Examples: This here was two cottages. These here astronauts ... ... one of these here fellows at ('that') ... (p. 161)

8.17.4. One example of attributive them 'those' followed by there was found in age-group Old: All them there things at ('that') comes down is reckans ('pot-

chains).

Table 78. Percentage of /ət/ at referring to persons and objects, and of who, which, that in restricted relative clauses by age-group (8.18.1)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/ət/ at	83.3	83.3	13.0
Variants	16.7	16.7	87.0
Tokens	36	18	23
Types	3	3	4

Graphic representation of Table 78: Percentage of at

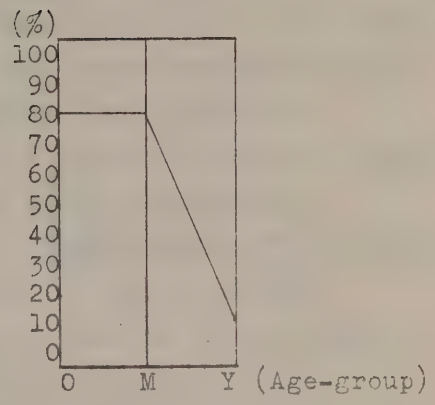
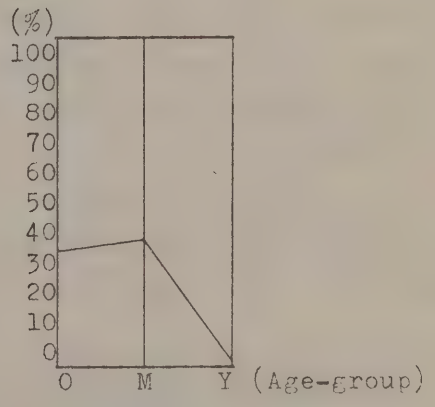


Table 79. Absence of the relative pronoun as subject in restricted clauses by age-group (8.18.2)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
No pronoun	37.1	38.9	0.0
Pronoun	62.9	61.1	100
Tokens	35	18	10

Graphic representation of Table 79: Percentage of absence of pronoun



8.18. Relative Pronouns

8.18.1. The indeclinable relative pronoun /ət/ at (probably < ON at, Jordan 1968, §204. Anm., but also < OE þæt, Brunner II 1962, p. 152) often occurred in 14th and 15th century Northern English. It is now the predominant relative pronoun referring to persons as well as things in the Old (83.3%) and Mid

(83.3) groups (Table 78), but is being ousted by that (referring to persons and things), which (referring to things), and who (referring to persons) (5.58.1) in the Young group (13%). It occurs, however, only in restricted relative clauses (cf. Zandvoort 1963, §462), which may be a limitation of its original use owing to the introduction of the interrogative pronouns as relative pronouns. The small number of tokens makes it impossible to indicate which of that, which, and who is increasing most at the expense of at. Who occurs only in the Young group. The women have no at tokens. At may remain in the dialect for one or two generations.

In continuative clauses (cf. Zandvoort 1963, §462) only which was found. It refers to things and to a preceding sentence.

As and what (5.22.1) seem to be used in the same way as in StE (cf. Zandvoort 1963, §§470,624).

Examples of at: ... one of these here fellows at I'd ... (p. 161); ... them trees at we planted ... (p. 169); ... anybody at needs your services ...

8.18.2. The relative pronoun is sometimes absent in restrictive clauses both as a subject, usually after a head-clause introduced by there is (was) (cf. StE, Zandvoort 1963, §468), and as an object, which was fairly common in ME (Brunner II 1962, pp. 147-8). Cf. YoDial (1684) ... That there's neay Carrion can kill a Craw 256, The small Stock I've gitten ... 469

Absence of the relative as subject occurs only in age-groups Old (37.1%) and Mid (38.9%) (Table 79). It is not limited to males. The trend seems to be towards a decrease in the absence of the pronoun as subject, but because of the small number of tokens, particularly in the Young group, the percentages may be unreliable.

Examples: ... and we had 349 people came to visit us. ... I have a daughter lives ... There's some fishermen comes down here ... There was one old man used to come frae ('from') Malton, horse dealer (p. 163).

8.19. Indefinite Pronouns

8.19.1. /sumət/ somewhat 'something' (5.33.1, 6.18, 7.27), which was found without a following adjective or preposition, is frequent in age-groups Old (55%), Mid (44%), and Young (42.9%), but is ceding ground to StE something (Table 80). The women use only the StE word. The indefinite pronoun somewhat may remain in the dialect for several generations.

Examples: You want somewhat upstairs ... I always find somewhat to do

Table 80. Percentage of somewhat 'something' and StE something as indefinite pronouns by age-group (8.19.1)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
Somewhat	55.0	44.0	42.9
Something	45.0	56.0	57.1
Tokens	20	25	14

Graphic representation of Table 80: Percentage of somewhat 'something'

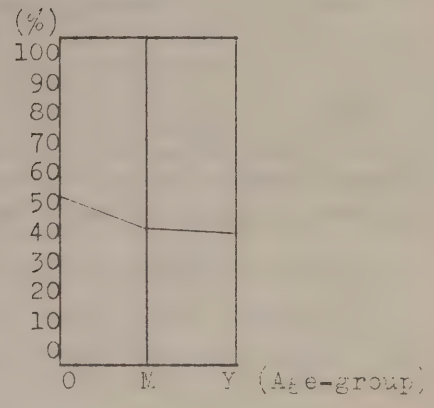
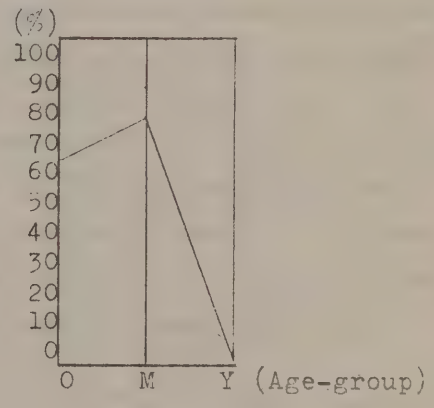


Table 81. Percentage of naught 'nothing' and StE nothing by age-group (8.19.2)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
Naught	65.4	80.0	0.0
Nothing	34.6	20.0	100
Tokens	26	10	12

Graphic representation of Table 81: Percentage of naught 'nothing'



... It's somewhat at's been handed down ...

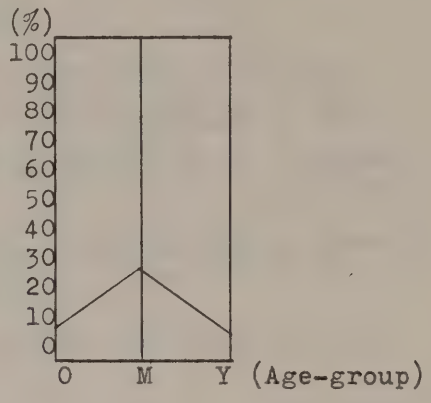
8.19.2. /naut/ naught 'nothing' (5.31.2) is strongly represented in age-groups Old (65.4%) and Mid (80%), but has been completely superseded by StE nothing in the Young age-group (Table 81). The women have no tokens. One male, JS again (cf. e.g. 8.16), answers for all the naught tokens of age-group Mid.

/aut/ aught 'anything' (5.31.2) seems to have come under strong pressure from StE anything (Table 82). All the aught tokens of age-groups Mid (27.8%) and Young (6.7%) are attributable to two men, JS and TS (cf. e.g. 8.16). The

Table 82. Percentage of aught 'anything' and StE anything by age-group (8.19.2)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
Aught	8.6	27.8	6.7
Anything	91.4	72.2	93.3
Tokens	35	18	15

Graphic representation of Table 82: Percentage of aught 'anything'



women use only the StE word.

Aught and naught will probably have died out in two generations.

Examples: I was over young to to know aught about this ... (p. 168); If you were caught doing aught wrong ... They won't sleep in aught else. What can you get when you have naught? (p. 168); We have naught to mow now. There's naught burns better. He couldn't make naught on ('of') him.

The relatively large percentage of the pronoun somewhat 'something' (8.19.1) compared with the percentages of naught 'nothing' and aught 'anything' in the Young group may be due to the fact that somewhat is used in StE as an adverb (= 'in some degree') and therefore not felt as a proper dialect word worth getting rid of in the same way as aught and naught. The limited number of tokens may, however, make the percentages unrepresentative.

8.20-25. VERBS

8.20. Infinitive

8.20.1. The sign of the infinitive /ɔt/ at 'to' (< ON at, Brunner II 1962, p. 342) was recorded twice in age-groups Old and Mid. According to Wright (1968, §439) it was obsolete in north Yorkshire at the turn of this century. Cf. PrConsc And yhe wald noght gyfe me at ete 6191

Examples: ... until I was able at do the man's work (p. 160). ... and just at hear his speech.

8.20.2. Traces of the ME use of for to before an infinitive (Brunner II 1962,

p. 342) were found in age-groups Old (4x) and Young (1x). Cf. The residewe ... I gyue to Agnes my wyffe ... for to dispose as they thynke best ... Will of W. Whytfeilde of Egton (ClW 1559).

Examples: I ... got some seeds for to sow i't garden. ... you fastened a bit of hazel on here right round on to your shackle ('wrist') for to make a bowl to gather it (= the corn) with ...

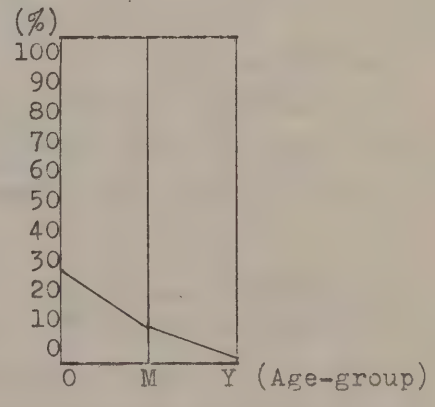
8.21. Present Participle

The endings of the present participle are now RP /iŋ/ and modified RP /in/, the distribution of which is shown in Table 59 (7.2). Some /-ən/ tokens may be traces of the traditional ending (< NME -and, probably < ON -andi, Brunner II 1962, p. 188, Wright 1962, §138), but, most likely, they are weakenings of [ɪn]. YoDial (1684) has the endings -ing, -in, and -en (probably = [ən]). Cowling (1915) has only -in (§454).

Table 83. Percentage of -s and StE -s-lessness in the first person singular present indicative by age-group (8.22.1)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
-s	28.0	9.8	0.0
-s-lessness	72.0	90.2	100
Tokens	100	183	100
Types	21	33	19

Graphic representation of Table 83: Percentage of -s



8.22. Present

In NME the ending -es was used in all the persons of the present indicative. In the first person singular and the plural, however, the verb had no ending or the ending -e, if the subject was a personal pronoun that immediately preceded or followed the verb (Moore 1969, §111.11). Cf. local 16th century wills: ... I Wyllm Whytfeilde of Egton beynge visitede w^{t} the hande of God maikes this my laste will and testamente ... (ClW 1559); I John Hyrde of hooll

mynde and good remebrance makes thys my laste wyll ... The residew ... I geue vnto my seven childrene ... & to Willm Alawnde whom also I maike my trewe & laufull executors for to dyspose my goode equallye amongeste them eyght as thye thynke beste for the healthe of my soull (ClW 1559). Cf. also YoDial (1684): Thou macks 14, 291; Thou is 72; ista 'is thou' 345; Your Bees macks a great noise 170; my Feet's as caw'd as Lead 'my feet is (= are) as cold as lead' 620; Ise seaure its time 'I is (= am) sure it's time' 343.

8.22.1. In Egton today the first person singular present takes -s in age-groups Old (28%) and Mid (9.8%) even if the personal pronoun immediately precedes or follows the verb (Table 83). This -s form is generally used as a historic present except for is 'am'. The women of age-group Mid use only -s-less tokens. Since there are few -s tokens in the Mid group and none at all in the Young group, it is to be assumed that this type will have died out in a generation or so.

Examples: I comes yowling back (p. 168). I says to her ... (p. 168); I says what I thinks. I doesn't please them all. Tuesdays and Thursdays is nights I is out.

8.22.2. In the second person singular present -s was recorded in age-group Mid in has (3x) and is (2x) (7.11, 8.12.2).

8.22.3. In the plural -s occurs in age-groups Old (8x) and Mid (6x) according to the NME usage.

Examples: The wagons backs up. All them there things at ('that') comes down is reckans ('pot-chains'). ... when the bees is out. Them ('those') scholars hasn't touched that rockery twice in fifty year.

8.23. Preterite

8.23.1. Were (5.24.2, 5.24. Note) is the rule in the preterite plural of be, but was (5.22.1) was found with a plural subject other than a personal pronoun in age-group Old (8x). In NME was also occurred beside war(e) and wer(e) in the preterite plural (Brunner II 1962, pp. 279-80).

Were was found twice in age-group Old in the first person singular preterite (cf. Melchers I 1972, 6:2).

Examples: And fairs was on ... (p. 164); Her parents was. ... if your horses wasn't pulling. And they were nearly all like plywood, was the aeroplanes. I were brought up a farmer (p. 164).

8.23.2. The preterites of the strong verbs drink and stink have presumably been

Table 84. Percentage of the preterites selled and StE sold by age-group (8.23.4)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
Selled	35.7	25.0	- -
Sold	64.3	75.0	- -
Tokens	14	4	- -

Graphic representation of Table 84: Percentage of selled 'sold'.

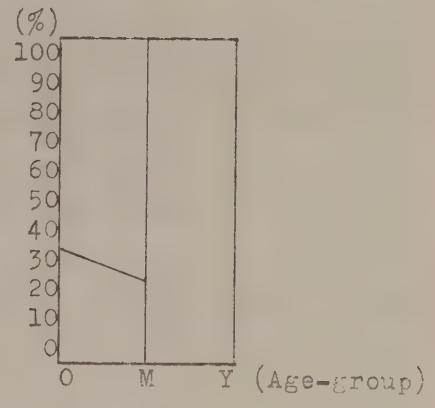
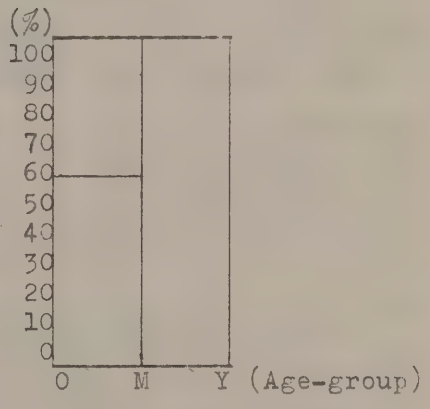


Table 85. Percentage of the preterites telled and StE told by age-group (8.23.4)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
Telled	62.5	62.5	- -
Told	37.5	37.5	- -
Tokens	16	8	- -

Graphic representation of Table 85: Percentage of telled 'told'



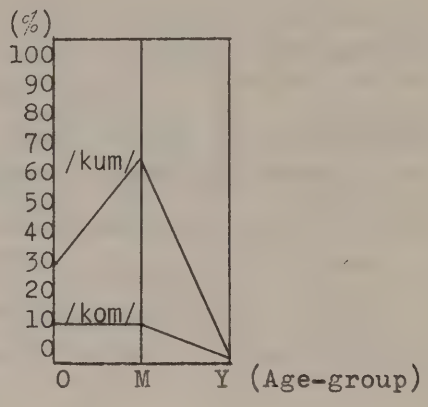
levelled under the past participles: /druŋk/ (1x Old) (5.33.1), /stuŋk/ (2x Old) (5.33.1). This may also apply to the preterites of ring '(cause a bell) to sound' and stick, which were originally weak but became strong on the analogy of (probably) sing in early ME (OED Ring, v.^{2}) and steek 'pierce' in the 16th century (OED Steek, v.^{2}): /ruŋ/ (3x Old) (5.33.1. Note), /stuk/ (1x Mid) (5.33.1. Note). The /u/ of these preterites may also be the common rendering of RP /ʌ/.

8.23.3. Old strong verbs which have weak preterite endings: holded (5.23.1.

Table 86. Percentage of the preterites /kum/, /kom/, RP /keim/ and its substitute /ke:m/ 'came' by age-group (8.23.6)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
/kum/	32.7	66.7	0.0
/kom/	12.2	12.5	0.0
/ke:m/ /keim/	55.1	20.8	100
Tokens	49	23	28

Graphic representation of Table 86: Percentage of /kum/ and /kɒm/ 'came'



Note 4) 'held' (1x Old), seed (5.54.2) 'saw' (1x Old), shaked (5.18.1) 'shook' (1x Old), throwed (5.82.4, 7.9) 'threw' (1x Mid, p. 168).

8.23.4. Verbs which reflect late ME weak forms: costed (5.27.4) (2x Old), cutted (5.34) (1x Old), putted (5.33.1) (1x Old), selled (5.9.1. + Note) (p. 162), telled (5.9.1. + Note). The two last-mentioned preterites and their equivalents in StE, sold and told, were not found in age-group Young. Selled (Table 84) is only about half as frequent as telled (Table 85) in age-groups Old (35.7%) and Mid (25%). The only selled token of group Mid is attributable to a male, JS, who is also responsible for three of the five telled tokens (cf. e.g. 8.19.2). Even one of the women of group Mid uses telled once. Owing to the small number of tokens the percentages are probably unreliable, which, together with the absence of tokens in group Young, makes the trend uncertain. It is to be assumed, however, that sold and told will supersede the traditional types in the near future.

8.23.5. The vowel of [bɹɒk] brock 'broke' (1x Old, 2x Mid) has presumably been levelled under that of the past participle [bɹɒkən] (5.27.1, 8.24.2). Cowling (1915, §461(a)) has [brɑk], which is the regular development of the OE preterite singular bræc. Cf. also YoDial (1684) brack 358, 366.

8.23.6. /kom/ com 'came' is probably a shortening of ME cōm (cf. 5.27.2. Note). The occurrence of the ON preterite kom may have facilitated this development (cf. Brunner II 1962, p. 235). /kom/ was found in age-groups Old (12.2%) and Mid (12.5%) (Table 86).

/kum/ come 'came' owes its /u/ to analogical influence from the past participle and the infinitive /kum/ (5.33.1). It was not found in age-group Young, but it is frequent in age-groups Old (32.7%) and Mid (66.7%) (Table 86). It is presumably a fairly recent development. Cowling (1915, §461(b)) does not record it. The women have only RP /keim/ and its Egton substitute /ke:m/. These types will probably be used exclusively in a generation or so.
8.23.7. Analogy with the /iu/ preterites of know, mow, sow (5.89.1) may explain /siu/ (5.89.1. Note) 'sawed' (2x Old).

8.24. Past Participle

8.24.1. A strong verb which has preserved the past participle ending in -en: sitten (5.4.1, 6.13) 'sat' (1x Old). The /i/ of the infinitive has ousted the e of the OE past participle.
8.24.2. Strong verbs which have not the ending -en in the past participles: /bit/ (5.4.1) 'bitten' (3x Old), /brok/ (5.27.1, 8.23.5) 'broken' (1x Mid)
8.24.3. The strong past participles /bun/ (5.35.1, 7.18.2) 'bound, tied' (1x Old) and /fun/ (5.35.1, 7.18.2) 'found' (1x Old) show loss of /d/ between nasals: /fund(ə)n/ > /fun/ (Jordan 1968, §200. Anm. 3). Influence from NME bun 'ready, prepared' (< ON búinn, OED Bound, ppl.a.[1]) may also have contributed to the /bun/ form.
8.24.4. Weak verbs which have acquired the strong past participle ending -en: /báutən/ (5.31.1, 6.13) boughten 'bought' (1x Old, p. 163), putten (5.33.1, 6.13) 'put' (2x Mid). In the North put has been conjugated as a strong verb from the 15-16th centuries (OED Put, v.[1]).
8.24.5. Weak verbs which reflect late ME or early ModE past participles: /katʃt/ catched (5.17.4) 'caught' p.p. (1x Old), cf. 16th century catcht (OED Catch, v.); cutted (5.34) 'cut' p.p. (1x Old), cf. 14-17th century cutted (OED Cut, v.).
8.24.6. A weak verb which has had a new weak ending -ed added to its past participle: losted (5.27.1) 'lost' (1x Mid).

8.25. Omission of Auxiliaries

In the perfect tense the auxiliary have (5.9.5. Note, 7.26) has been omitted in age-groups Old (2x) and Mid (1x) in the following sentences: I been pensioned off nine year ... ... he never been in Egton. They done things ... (cf. Hedevind 1967, 9:70; Wright 1968, §441).

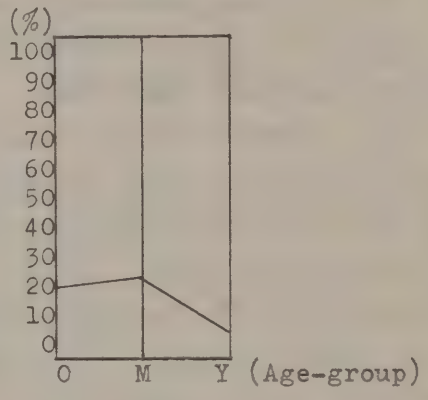
Omission of be (5.48.3) occurs in the present and past tenses of the

progressive in age-groups Old (1x) and Mid (6x), e.g. ... where I (am, is) working ... ... people you (are) working with ... ... when he (was) reversing it. We (were) still standing there ... (cf. Melchers I 1972, 6:2). The omission occurs in head-clauses as well as in sub-clauses. In all the examples recorded tne subject is a personal pronoun followed by the verb and in some of them a contracted form of the auxiliary is possible.

Table 87. Percentage of on 'of' and StE of before vowels by age-group (8.26.2)

Age-groups	Old	Mid	Young
on 'of'	22.7	25.0	7.1
of	77.3	75.0	92.9
Tokens	44	24	28

Graphic representation of Table 87: Percentage of on 'of'



8.26. PREPOSITIONS

8.26.1. At was found twice in age-group Old before the names of the days of the week.

Example: And I applied for a job at the Tuesday ... (p. 161)

8.26.2. On (5.27.1) is used instead of of before vowels to a certain extent. Owing to the loss of the final consonant of the unaccented prepositions on (7.22.1) and of before consonants (Luick 1964, §§715.1,766) and the subsequent mixing up of the two, on came to be used beside the original of before vowels. Table 87 shows that on occurs in age-groups Old (22.7%), Mid (25%), and Young (7.1%). The women use only of. Two males, JS and TS, answer for most of the on tokens of age-groups Mid and Young (cf. e.g. 8.19.2). It is probable that StE of will get the upper hand of on 'of' and eventually oust it completely in one or two generations.

Before consonants /ə/ (7.26)~/əv/ 'of' is used.

Examples: ... four on us (p. 167). ... eleven on us ... (p. 169); ...

some on 'em ... (p. 169)

8.26.3. Think on 'remember' occurs in age-groups Old (2x) and Mid (1x).

Example: I can't just think on them all like.

8.26.4. Belong (5.20.1) occurs without to before an object in age-groups Old (2x) and Mid (6x). Cf. ... the residewe of all my goode belonging me ... Will of R. Chapman of Egton (ClW 1557); ... and all that belonge it. Will of R. Searge of Egton (ClW 1620).

Example: It'll belong Fosters.

8.26.5. For the development of a /v/ between frae 'from', to, /wi/ 'with' (7.25) and a vowel see 7.14.

8.27. CONJUNCTIONS

The following conjunctions are used either in another sense or not at all in StE: at (cf. 8.18.1) 'that' (2x Mid), sin (5.4.1, 8.10.2) 'since' (2x Mid), while (5.43.1) 'until' (1x Old), without (5.71.1) 'unless' (2x Old)

Examples: You don't realize at you have used 'em. ... ever sin I was a little lad (p. 165). We'll wait while Peter comes in. I won't tell you without you buy it (p. 163).

9. STANDARD ENGLISH INFLUENCE

We have seen in the preceding chapters that RP/StE has exerted considerable influence on the traditional Egton dialect. We have also found that the female informants use a great many more RP/StE forms than the male informants, which may mean that women are often introducers of such forms (cf. Trudgill 1974b, 7.2.1). This StE influence is of long standing.

Egton was certainly once an isolated parish, situated high up on the moors and difficult of access, particularly in winter, because of the steep gradients. The nearest town was Whitby, a small sea-port 7 miles east of Egton village. Local wills tell us that Egton people had some connections with this town as early as the 16th century. R. Daill of Egton brought his "herrynge nett" (ClW 1569) with him when he rode down to his boat in Whitby and R. Burton of Egton bequeathed his "house in Whytbye" to his "sonne John" (ClW 1586). In those days barter was probably common. Egton villagers exchanged their agricultural products for fish and utilities of various kinds in Whitby. Before the first turnpike road was opened across the moors to Pickering in 1759, and its extension to York came into existence in 1788, most of the trade of Whitby must have been water-borne (Jeffrey 1919, pp. 1-3). Whitby sailing vessels probably called at most seaports along the eastern coast of England. Seamen and waggoners may have brought back with them the Southumbrian ME pronunciation [ɔ:] (< OE ā) of words like boat and road (5.61) which ousted the further development of NME [a:] (< OE ā). Once the Southumbrian pronunciation had established itself in Whitby, it spread out into the surrounding countryside (cf. Trudgill 1974a, pp. 158-9).

The introduction of StE forms into the parish may, however, also have taken place directly and not via Whitby through the mediation of Egton residents who had either been educated in the South (vicars) or been away from the parish for certain periods (soldiers). A word such as /saul/ 'soul' (< ME /soul/, borrowed from the area south of the Humber, cf. 5.82.4. Note) may well have been introduced by clergymen. Egton sailors in Their Majesties' service (Inventories of W. Raw (ClW 1698) and J. Yeoman (ClW 1705) of Egton) may also have contributed to the spread of StE forms into the dialect.

Most English dialects presumably underwent great changes in the latter part of the 19th century owing to the improvement of communications and the establishment of schools. In his book Forty years in a Moorland Parish (1891) J. Atkinson, vicar of Danby, regretted "the decay of the old pure Yorkshire speech. Time was when I heard it all round me, and from the mouths of all my old parish-

ioners" (p. 31). In 1865 Egton was connected by railway with Teesside and via Grosmont (1.4) with Whitby and Pickering (Hoole 1971, p. 66). From now on Egton had communication with a great number of towns all over England in a comfortable way. In those days, however, Egton people probably did not go very far. Besides trips to nearby villages and towns they may have taken part in the fairs which were held in various places in the North. Even Egton itself had a fair (1.3), which was presumably attended by people from all over Yorkshire. Mention may here also be made of all the miners who settled down in Egton in the last quarter of the 19th century and stayed there for about 25 years while working in the mines of the neighbouring village of Grosmont (1.4). This greater mobility of people may have contributed to the introduction of StE forms into the dialect.

The establishment of the two Egton schools in the 1870's was probably a great blow to the traditional dialect. According to Atkinson (1891) of Danby "the schoolmaster and the Inspector of Schools have been the ruin of the so-called 'dialect'" (p. 32). Newspapers began to circulate among the villagers and the orthography sometimes helped to direct their attention to the StE form. From 1953 on, the 11+ children had to go to the Whitby schools (1.3). The new unfamiliar environment may have made them try to modify their speech in the direction of StE. I have asked several teachers in Egton as well as in other nearby places about their attitudes towards non-standard varieties of English. They seem to be neutral. They neither encourage nor discourage their pupils to give up their dialectal speech habits, which was also the experience of my oldest informant, TV (3.2), in his school-days. StE is, on the other hand, taught as the language of reading and writing. Nowadays you cannot hear school-children say any longer [az ga:ɳ tə skiəl] 'I'm going to school' or [tɔ:d u:s bɒnt du:n jiṣtədə] 'The old house burnt down yesterday'. I was told, however, by one of the Egton teachers that she recently heard a pupil say [jaɔ] 'ewe' (5.85.2). This is, on the other hand, an infrequent word and the pupil may never even have heard the RP form. The more specialized for Egton life the term is, the more frequent the dialectal form seems to be.

After the second World War the number of people employed in farming decreased. More and more people had to find jobs outside Egton, particularly in the industrial towns on Teesside where the traditional dialects seem to have more or less succumbed to influence from outside as early as the end of the 19th century (Ellis 1889, p. 500). The new commuters tried to change their speech in

the direction of StE when talking to strangers in order to make themselves understood and not to seem too rustic (cf. 3.3). These frequent approximations to StE became a habit and presumably began to be used more and more in conversation with members of the family, friends, etc., and thus spread to the more stationary people of Egton.

In the last few years a great number of Egton houses have been sold to non-residents. The population is thus increasingly made up of speakers of various dialects and StE becomes a "superposed variety" (Trudgill 1974a, p. 18) that these speakers take refuge in.

Radio and television may also have contributed to the supersession of the traditional Egton dialect, but probably to a much less extent than schooling and the greater mobility of people because there is only one-way communication.

The West Riding of Yorkshire was one of the most densely populated regions in England as early as the beginning of the 19th century (East 1936, p. 526). Large cities such as Leeds and Bradford have presumably exerted powerful influence on the surrounding areas economically, culturally, and linguistically. After the establishment of a dense network of railways at the end of the 19th century and the concomitant increase of the mobility of people it is possible that StE forms spread from these cities, once they had established themselves there, to other urban areas in the North, and only later into the surrounding countryside. This spread of StE features from the Leeds area to Whitby and Egton may have taken place via Teesside in particular, but also via York and Scarborough at the same time.

The disappearance of the old traditional dialect is accelerating, but it will probably not take place as rapidly as Wright (1968) feared when he published The English Dialect Grammar in 1905. "The writing of this grammar was begun none too soon, for had it been delayed another twenty years I believe it would by then be quite impossible to get together sufficient pure dialect material to enable any one to give even a mere outline of the phonology of our dialects as they existed at the close of the nineteenth century" (p. vii). Most of the traditional Egton characteristics summarized in Table 88 will presumably have been superseded by RP/StE forms or Egton substitutes for RP/StE forms in one or two generations. Those traditional forms or substitutes for RP/StE forms asterisked in Table 88 may, however, be stable enough to continue to exist for several generations.

Table 88. A summary of the incidence of RP/StE phonology in Egton with traditional forms and their NME equivalents

NME	Example(s)	Traditional Egton	RP/StE influenced Egton	Percentage of RP/StE 1)			Chapter
				Old	Mid	Young	
/i/ unconditioned	Drink	/i/	- - 2)	- -3)	- -3)	- -3)	5.4.1-7 5.4.12
/i/ before /ŋ/ and between /g/ or /j/ and dental	Yes	/i/	/e/ between /g/ or /j/ and dental	53.0	61.1	87.2	5.4.8-11 5.12-13
/i/ before /nd/	Find	/i/	/ai/	95.0	42.9	100	5.5
/ir/ finally or pre-consonantally	Thirty	/o/ before dental, otherwise /or/	/ə:/ /ə/ compromise between /o/ and RP /ə:/	53.5 38.0	34.9 25.6	91.7 0.0	5.6
/ix/ before /t/ /ex/ before /t/	Night	/i:/ /ei/	/ai/	69.3	59.4	75.0	5.7
/e/ unconditioned	Sell	/e/	- -	- -	- -	- -	5.9-10
/e/ particularly before dentals	Get	/i/	/e/	53.0	61.1	87.2	5.12-13 5.4.8-9

1) The percentages sometimes include not only RP/StE forms but also Egton substitutes for RP/StE forms (see e.g. NME /ɛ:/ and NME /a:/ (< older /a:/) medially and finally). Percentages based on fewer than 10 tokens have been put in brackets.

2) Blanks in the "RP/StE influenced Egton" column mean that the RP/StE development corresponds to that in Egton.

3) Blanks in the "Percentage of RP/StE" column mean either that the RP/StE development corresponds to that in Egton (see NME /i/, /e/, /axt/, /o/, /i:/ finally, /e:/, /ɛ:r/, /au/, /oi/, /ui/), or that the number of tokens is too small to make percentages representative (see NME /ext/, /ar/ finally or pre-consonantally, /ol/, /ul/ pre-consonantally, /e:x/, /e:r/), or that it is not quite clear if a recorded form is traditional Egton or RP/StE (indicated by a question-mark in the "traditional Egton" column, or, once, in the "RP/StE influenced Egton" column) (see NME /alt/, /ul/ finally, /i:r/, /y:r/, /air/).

NME	Example(s)	Traditional Egton	RP/StE influenced Egton	Percentage of RP/StE			Chapter
				Old	Mid	Young	
/er/ finally or pre-consonantally	Certain War	/a:/, in word-final often /a:r/	/ə:/, /o:/ in words of French origin	92.7	85.8	100	5.14
/ex/ before /t/	Fight	/ei/	/ai/	- -	- -	- -	5.15, cf.5.7
/a/ unconditioned	National	/a/ [ɑ]*	/a/ [æ]	1.4	1.7	2 8	4.7, 5.17
/a/ before /k/	Make	/a/	/ei/ /e/ substitute for RP /ei/ /e:/* substitute for RP /ei/	7.5 73.7 9.4	13.7 56.8 0.0	37.5 18.8 43.7	5.18
/a/ before /ŋ/	Belong	/a/	/o/	92.9	81.1	87.5	5.20
/a/ before /f/, /θ/, and /s/	Plaster	/a/*	/a:/	0.0	3.4	0.0	5.21
/a/ after /w/	What, water	/a/	/o/, /o:/	92.9	90.5	100	5.22
/al/ finally	All	/o:/	/l/ reintroduced	71.5[1]	100[1]	100[1]	5.23
/al/ before /d/	Cold, old	/o:/	/l/ reintroduced	66.0	40.0	85.7	5.23
/al/ before /t/	Salt	?	/o:l/, /ol/	- -	- -	- -	5.23.1+Note 3, 5.23.3
/al/ before /f/, /v/	Calf, salve	/o:/	/a:/	96.0	81.9	91.7	5.23.1+Note2
/ar/ finally or pre-consonantally	Warm	/a:/, in word-final often /a:r/	/o:/ after /w/	- -	- -	- -	5.24

[1]The percentages refer only to all. All other words with NME final /al/ have /o:l/ exclusively.

NME	Example(s)	Traditional Egton	RP/StE influenced Egton	Percentage of RP/StE			Chapter
				Old	Mid	Young	
/ar/	Were	/a:/, in word-final /a:r/	/ə:/	92.6	75.0	100	5.24.2+Note
/ax/ before /t/	Fought	/o:/	- -	- -	- -	- -	5.25
/o/ unconditioned	Dog	/o/	- -	- -	- -	- -	5.27
/ol/ finally or pre-consonantally	Bowl, holme	/au/	/l/ reintroduced finally	- -	- -	- -	5.29
/or/ finally or pre-consonantally	Fork	/or/	/o:/	73.5	40.0	100	5.30
/ox/ before /t/	Bought	/au/	/o:/	72.7	45.8	100	5.31
/u/ unconditioned	Butter	/u/*	/ə/*, /a/ [a]* substitutes for RP /ʌ/	8.0	19.5	28.3	5.33
/u/ before /nd/	Pound Wounded	/u/	/au/ /u:/	76.9	33.3	100	5.35
/ul/ pre-consonantally	Shoulder	/u:/	/l/ reintroduced	- -	- -	- -	5.36
/ul/ finally	Full	?	/ul/	- -	- -	- -	5.36
/ur/	Word, worse	/o/ before dental, otherwise /or/	/ə:/ /ə/ compromise between /o/ and /ə:/	51.1 11.9	51.3 1.3	91.1 0.0	5.37
/i:/ finally	Sky	/ai/	- -	- -	- -	- -	5.41, 5.43
/i:/ before a voiceless consonant	Knife	/ei/	/ai/	92.0	98.9	100	5.41-43

NME	Example(s)	Traditional Egton	RP/StE influenced Egton	Percentage of RP/StE			Chapter
				Old	Mid	Young	
/i:/ before a voiced consonant	Time	/a:/	/ai/	47.2	18.1	68.9	5.41-43 5.45
/i:r/	Fire	?	/aiə/	- -	- -	- -	5.46
/e:/ unconditioned	Street	/i:/	- -	- -	- -	- -	5.47-48
/e:x/	Die v.	/i:/, /ei/	/ai/	- -	- -	- -	5.49
/e:r/	There Heard	/iə/, in word-final often /iər/	/eə/ /ə:/	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	5.50
/ɛ:/	Meat, dead, chain Break	/iə/	/i:/, /e/, /ei/ /e:/* substitute for RP /ei/ or eStE	84.7	54.3	91.3	5.52-54
/ɛ:r/	Ear	/iə/, in word-final often /iər/	- -	- -	- -	- -	5.55
/a:/ medially and finally (< older /a:/)	Blame, two, broad Soap, save	/iə/	/ei/, /u:/, /o:/ /o:/*, /ou/*, /e:/* substitutes for RP /əʊ/ and RP /ei/ or eStE	98.3	81.6	100	5.57 5.58.1-3
/a:/ medially (< [a] lengthened)	Name	/iə/	/ei/ /e:/* substitute for RP /ei/ or eStE	3.0 84.8	20.0 61.4	35.1 59.5	5.57 5.58.4-6

NME	Example(s)	Traditional Egton	RP/StE influenced Egton	Percentage of RP/StE			Chapter
				Old	Mid	Young	
/a:/ initially	Ale Oak	/ja/	/ei/ /e:/*, /o:/* substitutes for RP /ei/, RP /əʊ/, or eStE	99.1	78.4	97.1	5.60
/ɔ:/ = ShbME /ɔ:/ (< OE ā) unconditioned	Road	/uə/	/o:/*, /ou/* substitutes for RP /əʊ/ or eStE	100	81.8	(100)	5.61
/ɔ:/ unconditioned	Toast	/uə/	/o:/*, /ou/* substitutes for RP /əʊ/ or eStE	93.5	75.0	100	5.62-63
	Cold, old; soap; road; notice, suppose, toast; know		/ou/* substitute for RP /əʊ/	5.0	4.4	6.5	5.63.2.Note
/ɔ:r/ preconsonantally	Sort	/uə/	/o:/	See NME /ɔ:/ unconditioned			5.64 cf. 5.62
/y:/ unconditioned	Do, foot Done, good Mother	/iə/	/u:/, /u/ /u/* substitute for RP /ʌ/ or eStE /ə/*, /a/*[a] approximations to RP /ʌ/	78.0	71.7	97.0	5.65-67
/y:/ before /k/	Look Took	/iu/	/u/ RP or eStE /u:/ eStE	41.7 58.3	23.6 72.5	93.3 6.7	5.65-67

NME	Example(s)	Traditional Egton	RP/StE influenced Egton	Percentage of RP/StE Old	Mid	Young	Chapter
/y:x/ finally /y:ɣ/ medially	Plough Plough, enough Drew	/iəf/ /iu/	/au/ /u:/, /uf/* substitutes for RP /au/ and RP /ʌf/ /u:/	91.7	83.3	(0.0)	5.68
/y:r/	Floor Door, moor	?	/o:/ /uə/ probably < eStE /u:r/ or RP	- -	- -	- -	5.69
/u:/ unconditioned	About	/u:/	/au/	60.2	59.9	92.3	5.70-71
/u:r/	Our	/uə/, in word-final often /uər/	/auə/	See NME /u:/ unconditioned			5.73
/ai/ unconditioned	Day	/e:/*	/ei/	6.3	19.3	40.2	5.76-79
/air/	Fair n.	/e:r/	/eə/ ?	- -	- -	- -	5.80
/au/	Draw Know	/o:/	- - /ou/* substitute for RP /əʊ/ or eStE	- -	- -	- -	5.81-82 5.63.2.Note
				See Examples: Cold, old; soap; road; notice, suppose, toast; know (p. 157)			
/ou/	Four Grow	/au/	/o:/ /o:/* substitute for RP /əʊ/ or eStE	63.3	37.2	87.5	5.83-85
/iu/	Rule Tuesday	/iu/	/u:/ after /Cl/, /r/, /ʃ/, /dʒ/, otherwise /ju:/	76.9	26.7	100	5.86-91

NME	Example(s)	Traditional Egton	RP/StE influenced Egton	Percentage of RP/StE			Chapter
				Old	Mid	Young	
/oi/ /ui/	Noise Boil v.	/oi/ /oi/	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	5.92-93
/-(l)iŋ/	-(l)ing	/-(l)in/*	/-(l)iŋ/	1.6	21.7	31.9	7.2
/h-/	House	/h-/-lessness*	/h-/	18.1	34.5	58.0	7.15
	Hand(ful)	/-n/, /-nC-/*	/-nd/, /-ndC-/	9.1	6.7	33.3	7.18
	Finger	/-ŋ-/	/-ŋg-/	16.7	(0.0)	- -	7.19
/-r/	Water	/-r/ (non-linking)	/-r/-lessness	38.8	65.5	81.3	7.23

APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF TAPE-RECORDINGS

This appendix contains a small selection of the transcriptions of the tape-recorded material. The speech of five informants representing three age-groups (3.1-2) has been rendered in a narrow IPA notation (p. x).

Age-group Old

TV, born in 1892.

mɪˈfa:ðə̯ ˈtɑuk ðɪsˈpubupɪəɹ|ənðɨ̈nəˈfa:ᵊm|änˈaɪ ˌsta:tɪd
My father took this pub up here and then a farm, and I started

ˈfa:mɪn wɪðˈim| ænwiɛd|əˈman fəˈjɪəz|ɔntɪlˈa·wəzˈɛ:bl̩əˈdeət
farming with him. And we had a man for years until I was able at do the

ˈmanʒ ˈwɔ̈ɹk| n̩ˈðɛn|wɛnˈa·gɒtədɪət ˈmanʒ ˈwə:k|ˌa·ɪɛ̈d ˈtu·əˈtɹi:
man's work. And then, when I got to do the man's work, I had two or three

ˈdifɹənt ˈladz| ænɪn ˈwɔ:ˌtaɪm|ˌaɪɛ̈d ˈtu:ˌladʒ ɔfˈsku:l
different lads. And in wartime I had two lads off school

wɛnðəwəˈtwɛlv jɪəɹˈɔ·ɑld|kɔz jɑˈgeɾəmɔfˈsku:l
when they were twelve year old 'cause you get them off school

ˈtwɛlvjɪəɹˌɔ:ld|wɛn ˈwɔ:ˌta:ˈmɐ̨ʒəz dɑjəsɪi| wɛlðɐ̨n jəˌsi·
twelve year old when wartime measures, do you see. Well then, you see,

mɪˈfa:ðə ˈbiɪn əˈmaɪnəɹ̩|ænd ˈnivəɹɛˈdunðəˈfa:mɪn|ɛ̈n ˈbi·ɪn
my father being a miner, and never had done the farming, and being

ənˈinˌki:pəɹ̩|hɪˌwɔzn̩tˈklast əʒˈfa:məɹ̩|ɛnˈsɔ:|ˌa·wəzɐ̨gˈzɛmt
an innkeeper, he wasn't classed as farmer, and so I was exempt

fɹɔ̈mðəˈfəsˈwə·ldˈwɔ:ᵊ|ˌbɔ̈t|jəˈnɔ:|ðɛˌwɑdᵊtəˈpastˌðat
from the first World War. But, you know, they wouldn't have passed that

ˈa:dlɪ·|ɪf aɪ ˈadn̩ʤəbi:n |ˈðætswəz maˈɛ·əm| ɪt wəz dɪˈfɔ:md
hardly if I hadn't have been. That's was my arm. It was deformed

ˈǫːɪtəˈgiḏǫ dɪjəsɪi| ənjɔkənˌsiˑ ˈǫːɪmɪˈan| ɪtɪzˈǫːɪ ˈpaɪnd ...|
altogether, do you see. And you can see all my hand. It is all pined ...

aˈkɑːnt ˈɹaɪt ...| ˈðɛts ˌmaˑ ˌpɹɔbləm| ɛ̈n|ˌaˑˈkudn̩t ˈfǫːk ˈɛː|wɪˈðuːt
I can't write ... That's my problem. And I couldn't fork hay without

ˌsɛtɪn mɪˈfɔːk ɒtʔˈgɹɑɷnd| änəˈlad ˈtɹɪptmɪˈup ˌwɔnˌdɛˑ|
setting my fork on the ground. And a lad tripped me up one day

wɛn wɪˌwɛnt ˈdɑɷnənəmˈbankmənt| ənaˈkɔləd ... ɪm təˈsɪəvmɪˈsɛlf|
when we went down an embankment. And I collared ... him to save myself,

ənəˈstɪᵊdəmɪˈaːm ˈbiˑɪnˈðɛːᵊɹ|ɪtwəzˈbɛnt ˈaɷtɪtˈsɒkɨ̈t|
and instead of my arm being there, it was bent out its socket.

æn ˈɔːl ˌtaːm ˌaˑwəz ˈfaːmɪn|aɪˈǫːnɪɪd ˈɛɪtbɔbəˈwɪik|
And all time I was farming I only had eight bob a week.

ɛnˈsǫː|aˈwɔntɪd təˌget ˈmaɹɪdänawəz ˈtwɛntɪˌɛɪtən|
And so, I wanted to get married, and I was twenty-eight and.

æn ðɛ̈ˈwudn̩t ˌgimɪ nǫˑˈmǫːᵊɹən|ðɛ̈ˈsɛd ˈfindəˈnuḏǫˈdʒɒb|
And they wouldn't give me no more, and they said, Find another job.

ənaɪˈapn̩ɡtiː|ˈbiˑɪnˈtutʃ ˈwɒnəˌðɪəzɪə ˈfɛləɣ əˈtaːdə|
And I happened to be in touch one of <u>these here</u> fellows <u>at</u> I'd

əˈtaːd|əˈplaɪd fǫ ˈfaˑˈv ˈjɪəɹ bɪˈfǫːᵊɹ| ənawəɣ ˈstɪl ˈluˑkɨ̈n
<u>at</u> I'd applied for five year before. And I was still looking

ˌɛftəɾəˈwɛːɹɑɷs ˌɒntʔˈkɒmən|bɪˈkɒɣ|ðɛ̈ˈwɔɣn̩əˌman|
after a warehouse on the common because there wasn't a man

təˈlɷukˈɛftᵊɪt|n̩ˈaˑ ˌkɛptʔˈkɨ̈i|and|aᵊˈplaˑɪd fəɹəˈdʒɒb
to look after it, and I kept the key. And I applied for a job

ətðəˈtjuːzdɨ̈|ənaˈgɒtɪt ɒnðəˈsatədɛ̈n̩ˈaˑˈd|
at the Tuesday, and I got it on the Saturday, and I'd

ˈtuːpundˈfaɪvəˌwɪik fəɹəˈstaːtn̩ə ˈθətɪˌsiks ˈpund
two pound five a week for a start and a thirty-six pound

ˈɹɛːlwɛːˌpas|ənˈɔːɪ mɪ ɐkˈspɛnsɪz ˈpɛːd | aˈθɐːtawəzəmiljəˈnɛːɹ |
railway pass, and all my expenses paid. I thought I was a millionaire.

aˈdid ˈɔnɪstlɪ| sɐːˌad ˈθəti:nˌjɪəɹˈfaːmɪnn̩|ænˈfiftɪˈjɪəzɪtʔ
I did honestly. So I'd thirteen year farming and, and fifty years in the

ɪtˈimplɪmənˌtɹɛːd| ˌaːsɛlgˈɛnɪθɪŋ fɹəvəməˈʃiːˌniːdˌ
in the implement trade. I selled anything frae a machine needle

tɵəˈtraktəɹ ɔɹəˈstiːmˌindʒɪn|
to a tractor or a steam-engine.

AA, born in 1897.
ðəzəˈlɔt ˈgɒn fɹəvˈɛgtn̩ ˌsinsˈðɛn| wɛnˈaːwəz ˈjuŋ
There's a lot gone frae Egton since then. When I was young,

ðəˌjɵstəbɪ ˈtwɛlv ˈθatʃt ˈɑɷzɪz ɪnˌɛgtn̩| ˈaːɪ|
there used to be twelve thatched houses in Egton. Aye,

ðəˌjɵstəbɪ ənˈɔːdˈman ...|wɪˈkɔːldim ˈbɒːnəs|
there used to be an old man ... We called him Bonas.

ɪˈlivd ət ˈwintəˌgil| ˈɹɛɪtˈɑɷəɹɒntˈmɒːəˌðɛːə|
He lived at Wintergill. Right over on the moor there.

ˈfaːɪvəˈsiks ˈmaːəl| waːɬ|wɛnˈaː wəzəˈlad|ˌɛgtn̩ ˈfɛːz ˌjuːstəbɪ
Five or six mile. Why, when I was a lad, Egton fairs used to be

ɒntʔˌgɒː|ˈɔːləg ˈsɛldn̩ ˈbɑɷt ˈɒsɪzənˈʃiːpn̩ ˈpigzən
on the go. Always selled and bought horses and sheep and pigs and

ˈθiŋzətˈɛgtn̩| bətˈɔːɪ wəgˈsɛldbɪ·|ˈpɹaːɬvɪ̈t|ˈbaːgɪnɪn ðɐn|
things at Egton. But all was selled by private bargaining then.

ðəwəzˈwɒn|ˈɔ·ɪd ˈman ˌju·stəˈkumfɹe̯ˈmɒltn̩|ˈɒsˌdi:le̯|
There was one old man used to come frae Malton, horse dealer.

ðəˈkɔ:ldɪm ˈumbl̩| ənɪˈwɔns ˈastəˈtʃap ɪnt̚ʔˈvilɪdʒ ...|
They called him Humble. And he once asked a chap in the village ...

dɪjəˈwɒntəˈsɛl jʊ̈ɹˈɒs ˌjuŋ ˌman| ˈjɛ·s|sɛz ˈizɪtˈɔ:lˈɹe̯·ɪt|
Do you want to sell your horse, young man? Yes. Says, Is it all right?

ˈjɛ:s|ɪtsˈɔ:|ˈnɔ:ɪˌsɛdðəɹə ˈtɷu ˈfɒlts| waɪɪsɛz ˈwɔts
Yes, it's a... No, he said, there are two faults. Why, he says, what's

ɪts ˈfɔ·ɪts| ˈwa:ˡ ɪsɛz|aˈwe:nt ˈtɛljɷ wɪˈðu:t jə ˈba·ˡ ɪt|
its faults? Why, he says, I won't tell you without you buy it.

u·ˈivə|ðe̯jˈagld ˌɒnəˈbit|n̩ ðɛ̈ˈgat̚ʔˈɒs ˈbɷɷtən|
However, they haggled on a bit, and they got the horse boughten.

ˈnɷɷ ˌðe̯n|ˈwɔts ɪts ˈtɷu ˈfɒlts| ˈwaɪ ɪˌsɛd|ɪfjə ˈtə:nɪtˈɒf̚|...
Now then, what's its two faults? Why, he said, if you turn it off ...,

ɪts ˈvaɹɪ ˈbad tɪˈkatʃ| ənɪˈsɛz ˈo̞: ˈðat wɔzn̩t ˈmutʃ| ɪˈsɛd
it's very bad to catch. And he says, Oh, that wasn't much. He said,

ˈwɒt wəg̑ ˈtuðə ˈfɒlt| ˈwaɪ ɪˈsɛd ɪts ˈnɪəɹ ˈgud wɛn jɷ
What was the other fault? Why, he said, it's ne'er good when you

ˈgiɾɪt ˈkatʃt̚| ˈõ:|ˌðɛəv əˌbu:t ˈɔ:ɪ ˈgɒn ˈdɷun əg̑ ˈθatʃt ˈu:zɪz|
get it catched. Oh, they've about all gone down as thatched houses.

ˈaɪ ðɛ̈vˈo̞:ɪ ˈgɒn ˈnu:| ˈaɪ|ðəˌjɷstəbɪ ˈfa·ˡv ˈpubz
Aye, they've all gone now. Aye, there used to be five pubs

ɪt̚ʔˈvilɪdʒ| ðɛ̈wəzə|ðəwəz ˈtɒsˈʃɷu|ˈwi:tˈʃi:f|
in the village. There was there was the Horse Shoe, Wheatsheaf,

ˈfɔksənɷɷnzənˈʃip|n̩ʔˈplɷɷ| ˈɔ:ɪ ˈpubz| ənəˈθiŋk|
Fox and Hounds, and Ship, and the Plough. All pubs. And I think

ðɛˈɔːl ˌmɛːdəˈgud ˈlivɪn|wẹn ˈfɛːzn̩ ˈðɛt wəzˈɔn ˌevɹɪˌwiːk|
they all made a good living when fairs and that was on every week.

ənˈfɛːz wəzˌɔn ðəˌjuˑstəbɪ ˈɔːl ˈsǫːts ˈkum tɪtˈfɛːz|
And fairs was on there used to be all sorts come to the fairs.

ˈɹuːndəmˈup bɪtˈɑ̈ɔ̈zɪz| ˌðɛwəzəˈplɛːs fɔɾəmˈɔːl təˈput
Round 'em up by the houses. There was a place for 'em all to put

ðɛ̈ɹˈanɪməlzˈin| ˈðẹn ðɛ̈ˌjuˑstə ˈdɹaːvəmdɑ̈ɔ̈n tẹt ˈstɛːʃənn̩|
their animals in. Then they used to drive 'em down to the station, and

ˈwɔːkəmˌtɾuː təˈmɔltn̩ ətˈwɔnˈtaːm| ˈtwɛntɪˈfaːv ˈmaːəl|
walk 'em through to Malton at one time. Twenty-five mile.

ˈaɪʔt̬ʔˈdɹɔːvəz ˈɔːləs ˈputəˈglasəˈɹum ɪntˈʃɵ̈uz|
Aye, the drovers always put a glass of rum in the shoes

bɪˈfǫː ðɛˌsɛtˈɒf wiðəm |
before they set off with 'em.

ˈwɛl||ˈaːdɪˌnɔː|awəˈbɹaɑ̈tˈup əˈfaːməɹ̩| aˈwɛntəˈfaːmˌplɛːs|
Well, I don't know. I were brought up a farmer. I went to farm place

wɛnawəz ˈjuŋ| n̩ðen|ˈstaːtɪdˈfaːmɪn ɒnuəɹˈɔːn|wɛnwɪwə
when I was young. And then started farming on our own when we were

ˈtwɛntɪˈɛɪtjɪəɹˌɔɑ̈ld | wɪˈseːvd əˌbitəˈmɔnɪ| wɪˈstaːtɪdɑ̈pˈfaːmɪn|
twenty-eight year old. We saved a bit of money. We started up farming,

fɔˑ ˈfiftiˑn ˈjiəɹ̩ətʔˈfəst ˈplɛɪs wɪˈwɛnˌtɑ̈u| bətwɪˌad əˌlɔtə
for fifteen year at the first place we went to. But we had a lot of

ˈbad ˈluk| wɪ ˈlɒst ˈɒsɪzən wiˑ|ˈlɒst ˈkɑ̈uzwɪ ˈlɒst ˌǫːl ˈsǫˑəts|
bad luck. We lost horses and we lost cows, we lost all sorts.

ˈðɛn wɪˈtʃɛːᵊndʒd|ənwɪˈkum tɪvəˈnuðẹ ˈfaːm|ətˈɛgtn̩|
Then we changed, and we come to another farm at Egton.

... əˈtuˑwˌɒndədən ˈfiftɪ ˈɛˑəkəɹ| änwɪ ˈnivəˈlukt ˈbak | wɪˈdʒust
... a two hundred and fifty acre. And we never looked back. We just

ˈdidəzˈwiːl| wɪwəˈðɛːˈtwɛntɪ ˈjiəɹ| wɪˈjuˑstəˈkiːp|ˈskɒtˈʃiːp
did as well. We were there twenty year. We used to keep Scotch sheep

ˈmɛːnɪɪən|ˈsukɪŋˈkaːvz̧|ˈsukl̥əz̧| wɪˈdidn̥t ˈsɛl ˈmɒtʃ ˈmilk|ɛ̈nwɪ
mainly, and sucking calves, sucklers. We didn't sell much milk and we

ˌwun ˈɔːlˌaɒə wɪˈʃiːpn̥|ˌjuˑstə ˈʃaɒəˌlɔt| ˌjuˑstə ˈtɛkəmˈup
won all over with sheep, and used to show a lot. Used to take 'em up

ˈnɔːθ tɪˈɛksəm ənəbɑɒt | wɪˌjuˑs|tɪˈgo̤ː tɪˈskɒtlənd ˈɛvɹɪ ˈjiəɹ
north to Hexham and about. We used to go to Scotland every year

ˈvɛɹɪ ˈnɪəɹ təˈbaɪ ˈtups|
very near to buy tups.

Age-group Mid

BP, born in 1913.

ˈɔːː aˈkɒdn̥t ˌduˑɪtno̤ˑ| aˈmiːna|avˈsiˑn ˈtaːm|wɛnawəzˈjuŋəɹ|
Oh, I couldn't do it now. I mean I I've seen time when I was younger,

awɒdəˈdug ˌwɔnəˌðɛm ɪnəˌbɑɒt ˈtɒu ˈnə̤ɪt| bətə|ˈaˑ kɒdn̥t
I would have dug one of them in about two night. But I couldn't

ˌget ˈtɹɯːɪt ˌnɑɒ wɪˈðuːt məˈʃɪ̈iˑn | ɪnˈfaktäv ˈdənɪtəˌbit ˈlɛːtə̧
get through it now without machine. In fact, I've done it a bit later

ˈðisˌjɪəɹ | avˈaːdlɪ ˈdənɛnɪˌdigɪnətˌɔːl|
this year. I've hardly done any digging at all.

ˌwaɪ ˈaːvˌkẹpt ˌbɪ̈iz|waɪəʔ ˌlɪist mɪˈdad|ˈɛvəˌsinawəzəˌlitˌˈlad|
Why, I've kept bees, why at least my dad ever sin I was a little lad.

jəˈnọː| awəzəˈwɛː ˈwəːkɪŋ ˈkwaɪtəˈbit|bət wɪvˈɔːləz̧ˌadəˌfjɔu|
You know, I was away working quite a bit, but we've always had a few.

bət ˌsɪi mɪˈfa:ðəz|ɪn ˈðɛ:ᵊɹˈta:m ˈðɛ·ˌju·stəˌhɛɣ ʔˈtɔ:ɪd|ˈbas
But see my father's, in their time, they used to have the old bass,

ənəˈlitˌ ˈwɔn ˌɒnʔˈtɒp|
and a little one on the top.

ˌjəˈnɔ:|ðəʔˈt̪rubˌləɣʔˈʃilɪnəmˌɑɑtn̩|än ˈwaɪ ˈɪivn̩
You know, the trouble of shelling 'em out and, and why, even

ˌwɒnəvˈɑɑəˈladʒ ɪʒˌsɛ:ɪnˈlas ˈnaɪt|ɪˈsɛd ˈdadɪˌsɛd
one of our lads is saying last night, he said, Dad, he said,

dɪjəˈθiŋkɪts|ɪts ˈwɔ̈θ ˈbɒðəɹɪn wɪˈpəiʒ| aˈsɛd ˈwəi|
Do you think it's it's worth bothering with peas? I said, we

ɪtˈmɛbɪˌɪzəˈbitəvˈbɒðə|bəta sɛdˈa· stɪlˌlaɪk mɪˈpɨ̈iz
it maybe is a bit of bother, but I said, I still like my peas

ˈɑɑtətˈga:dn̩| ɪtsˈɹɒθɪŋlaɪk ˈgǫ:ənɛnˈdigɪnjəɹ|
out of the garden. It's nothing like going and digging your

ˈfju· pəˈtɛ:tɪz ˈupˈɑɑtətˈgɹɑɑndən ˈstɹaɪtɪntətˈpan|
few potatoes up out of the ground, and straight into the pan.

JS, born in 1925.

ɑ̟ˈlɛft ˈskɵ̈ul ɪnˈnaɪntinˈθɒtɪˈna·ɪn| ˈðæt wəz wɛn ˈwǫ: ˌbɹɒkˈɑɑt|ˈwɒʒət|
I left school in 1939. That was when war brock out, was it?

ˈθə:tɪˈnaɪn tə ˈfɔtɪˈfa:ᵊv| ɑ̟kədˈtɛljə əˈlɒtəˌbu:t ˈgɑ·n̩təˈskɑul|
39 to 45. I could tell you a lot about going to school.

bət wɪˈnivə ˈlaɪktɪt|ˈdid ˌwi·| ˈtu: ˈmɑ:ɪ ˈtu:ˈmɑ:ᵊɪ təˈwɔ:k ˈivɹɪ ˈdɛ:
But we never liked it, did we? Two mile, two mile to walk every day,

jəˌnɔ:| ˈsɛtˌɒfˈiəɹ|ˈkwɑ:təˌpastˈaɪt ɔnəˈmǫ:nɪn|
you know. Set off here quarter past eight on a morning.

ˈðɛ· fəˈna·ɪn| n̩dˌɑɷ ˈsku:lˌgafəɻ ˈju:sˌti·|ˈkɪ̈ipəʒɪnətˈnəi:t|
There for nine. And our schoolgaffer used to keep us in at night.

wɪˌə̣d tɔ̈ˈstɔp ...|ɪfwɪˈdɪən ˈɑɷəˌɹaŋ|ˈmɔ̨nɪəˈta:m ɪtwəʒ
We had to stop ... if we'd done over wrong. Many a time it was

ˈfɑɷəɹəˈklɒk wɛnɪˈlɛtəzˈu:t| wɪˌɛdtəbɪˈɪəm bɪˈfa:v|
four o'clock when he let us out. We had to be home by five.

ənˌwɛ̨n wɪˌgatˈɪəm|wɪˈad|ˈkinəlɪn təˌgitˈin|ˈkɷəlʒ|ən
And when we got home, we had kindling to get in, coals, and

ˈkaɹɪ?ˈwa̲təɻ| ænə|ɪf jɷˈwa:nt ˈɔ:m bɪˈfa:v|jəɹˈpɛnəltɪ wəz ˈbɛ̨·d|
carry water. And if you weren't home by five, your penalty was bed.

jɷˈɛdtə ˈgɛ̨ttɪ̈bɛd| ən mɪˈfaðə ˌju·stəˈland ˈeəm əˈbu:t|
You had to get to bed. And my father used to land home about

ˌdʒəst ɛftɛ̨ ˈfa:v|ˈhɑ:f ˌpast| ˈðɛn|ˈəi· ˌgɒt ɪʒ ˈtɪ̈iən|wɪ ˈadtɪ̈
just after five, half past. Then he got his tea, and we had to

ˈgetˈu:tɪntət ˈga:dn̩ wɪvɪmˌðɛn|ˈtɷu ˈfɑɷəɻ|ˈfɑɷəɹɒnəʒ|
get out into the garden with him then, two, four, four on us.

n̩ wɪˌwaɹə ˈkupˌˈuəz ɪt?ˈga:dn̩| ən ˌðɛ̨n ˌuz ˈladz ˈə̣dti·|
And we were a couple hours in the garden. And then us lads had to

ˈʃɛ̨:ᵊp fɛ̨ˈbɛ̈dðɛn|ˈɹɪdɪfɔ̈ɻ|ˈupət|ˈɑ:f pasˈsɛvn̩ ˈnɛkst ˈmɛ̨:ᵊnɪn|
shape for bed then, ready for up at half past seven next morning.

əndə|wɪˌɛls ɹɪˈmɛmbəɻ| ɛ̨::|adˌɛ̨:nɪɪdʒəs ˈstɑ:tɪd ˈskɷul|än mɪˈmuḏəɻ|
And we else remember. Oh, I'd only just started school and my mother

ˌju:stɪ ˈgivəzəˈkɒpərəˈtɔ̈u·|tɪˌganəˈwɛ̨ɪ| æn|ʃɪˈsta:tɪd|
used to give us a copper or two to gan away. And she started

ˈbɹɛəkɪnəzˈɒf| ˌgitsˈdu:n tɪ̈tˈfa:m ˈdɷunbɪˈlɛ̨: ˈja:ˈmɛ̨:nɪnən|
breaking us off. Gets down to the farm down below one morning, and

aˈfindzˈuːt aɪ ˈɛdn̩t ˌmiˑ| mɪˈkɒpəɹ̩| sɪəˈwɒtdɪdaˈdɪə| aˈkumz|
I finds out I hadn't my my copper. So what did I do? I comes

ˈjɑʊlɪn ˈba?| aˈsɛztivəɹ̩|aˈsɛz|ˈwɒt kanjəˈgit ˌwɛn jʊwɛˈnɑʊt|
yowling back. I says to her, I says, What can you get when you have naught?

ˈmaɪnd|ˈaˑwəzəʊəˈjuŋ ˌtiːtɪˈnɔː ˌɑʊt əˈbʊut ˌðɪs|bət ðəwəz|
Mind, I was over young to know aught about this, but there was

ˈfəʊɹəvˌuˑəz ˈlɔt|ˌwɛnt ˈduːnʔˈwud| ˈtuː ˈladzn̩ ˈtuː ˈlasɪg aˈθiŋk|
four of us lot went down the wood. Two lads and two lasses, I think.

ändəd̩ˌbɪin ˈfɹatʃɪn|ën|ˈjanət ˈlasɪgɪz ˈagɹəˌvɛːtɪd
And they'd been fratching, and one of the lasseses aggravated

ˈjänət ˈladzn̩|ɪˈt̪ɾ̝ˑd ˈaks ˌaftəɹə|n̩ɪˈkutəɹˈɪəd ˌɒf|
one of the lads, and he throwed axe after her, and he cut her head off.

ˈtuðəɹˈlas|ˈkumz ˈup ˈɪəm|ən ʃɪˈsɛz|ˈmuðəɹ̩| ʃɪˈsɛz
The other lass comes up home, and she says, Mother. She says,

aˈwantə ˈankɪ ˈbigɪˌnɪəf təˈwɑ̣ɪp ...|fɔ̈ɹəˈbandɪtʃ|
I want a hanky, big enough to wipe ... for a bandage.

ˈaˑwəzə|ˈfəʊəˌtiˑn̩ ɪnnˀˑˈvɛmbəɹ̩ |ˈwɑ̣ː ˌbɹɒk ˌɑʊt ɪsepˈtɛmbəɹ̩|
I was fourteen in November. War brock out in September.

səˈwɔt ˈapn̩d| wɪˈfild|ˈskuːlˈup wɪvɪˌvakjəˈlɪz|fɹəvˈaːtlɪˌpəʊl|
So what happened? We filled school up with evacuees frae Hartlepool.

ənə|ˈaˑ ˌlɛftət ˈkɹɪsməs| ˈaˑˌwɛnt ˈstɾ̝ɑ̣ɪt ˌɪntiˑ|ˈwɒɹ̩k| əˌlitl̩ ˈfaːm
And I left at Christmas. I went straight into work. A little farm

ˈduːn bɪˈlɔːˌɪəɹ| ˈɑːfəˌkɹuːnəˈwɪik| ˈðat wəzmɪ ˈpɛˑə|
down below here. Half a crown a week. That was my pay.

änwɪwə ˈtuː ˌjɪəˈðɛːɹ|əˈjɪəɹəˀnˈɾ̝ːf ˈtuˑ ˈjɪəɹ̩|
And we were two year there, a year and half, two year.

ˈðɛn aˌwɛntˈup ˈɒntɪvəɹəˈnuðə ˈfaːm fɔ̈ɹ|ˈtɛn ˌbɒbəˌwᵊiˑk|
Then I went up onto a another farm for ten bob a week.

ˌðɛnðəˈɹɛˑᵊzdəmˌup tɪˈtwɛlvənəˈtanəˌ̣| ˌ̩nanəbətˌadə
Then they raised 'em up to twelve and a tanner. And I nobbut had a

ˈpund|ˈwɛnaˈlɛft| ənˌðɛn|fɹəˈðɛːɹ aˈwɛnt ˈduːn təˈslaɪts
pound when I left. And then frae there I went down to Sleights

tɪˌwɔɾk| ad ˈaɪt ˌjɪəɹ ˈduːn|ˈnɔː|ˈfaːv ˌjɪəɹ ˈduːn ˈðɛːɹ|
to work. I'd eight year down, no, five year down there.

ənaˈlɛft ˌðɛːɹ änˈkɒmtəˈwɒɾk fɔθɪˈˈstɛːt fəɹˈạɪt ˈjiəɹ|
And I left there and com to work for the estate for eight year

ɪtˈfɒɹɨ̈sts| wɪˌad wɒ? ˈtwɛntɪˌsiksˈɛːkəɹəˈjɪəɹ təˈplant
in the forests. We had what twenty-six acre a year to plant

fɔ̈ˈtɛn ˈjiəˌ̣|ənɪtwəzo̤ːlˈ ˌtiˑ|ˈklɪːnˌɒf| ˈðats|
for ten year. And it was all to clean off. That's

ˈklɪːnˈo̤ːɪtˈskɹʉb ˌɔf|ˈundəˌgɹɑɷθ|ˈditʃ ɪtˈo̤ːᵊl|ɔɹ ˈgutəɹˌɪt|
clean all the scrub off, undergrowth, ditch it all or gutter it.

an|ˈðæʔwəzˈɔːl təˈfɛns ˈɹɷound|bɪˌfɔˑ jəˈstaːtɪd ˈplantɪn|
And that was all to fence round before you started planting.

ˌðɛn ˈjuː|ðɛ̈ˈbɑɷt ˌtɹɪɪz ˈin ˌðɛn|ˈjuŋ ˈsiːdlɪnz|ən ˈplantɪd
Then you, they bought trees in then, young seedlings, and planted

ˈðɪs ˈtwɛntɪˌsiks ˈɛːkəɹ| ˈmaɪnd ðəwəzɪˈlɛvn̩ˌɒnəz ˌɒntɪˈstɛːt
this twenty-six acre. Mind, there was eleven on us on the estate

ˈðẹn| ɪʔˈwudʒ ðəzˌo̤ˑnlɪ ˈt̲ɾiː ˈnɷu| ˈmaˑˈnd|ˈðɛm ˈtɹɨ̈ɪz
then. In the woods there's only three now. Mind, them trees

ətˈwiˑ ˌplantɪd|ˈtwɛntɪˈθɹiː ˈjiəˌ̣ ˌsinsˈ|sumɒnəm|ðɛˈɛˑv|
at we planted twenty-three year since, some on 'em they have

ˈt̪ind ˈɔut | ˈän ˈmeəd ˈpɒsts ənˈɹɛ·ᵊlz | ˈwitʃəz ˈbɹɑʊtəm |
thinned out, and made posts and rails, which has brought 'em

əˈbitəˈɹevɪnjuː ˌbɑ̯k | ðɛˈsɛldəˈɪɒtət ɪˈstɛːtjəˌnoː |
a bit of revenue back. They selled a lot of the estate, you know.

ˈɒdəlitˌˈbiʔ ˌɹɑʊnd ˈɛgtn̩ ˈbɹɪg ˌnɑʊ | ˌwɛːðɛ̈ˈjuːstəˈɛv |
Hold a little bit round Egton Brig now, where they used to have,

ˈwɒt ˈwɔzɪt ˈfɔtɪˈθɑʊzn̩ ˈɛːkə̯ɹ | aˈθiŋk ɪˈstɛːt ˈwɔz |
what was it, forty thousand acre I think estate was.

aɪˈtɛlju·wˌuː ˈðatˌhapn̩d | awəzˈupətˈðisˈfaːmˈupˌiə̯ɹ |
I'll tell you how that happened. I was up at this farm up here

ˌwɛn aɪˈadtɪˈgo̞ːən ˈɹɛˌdʒe̞stə̯ɹ | ənaɪ | ðəwəzˌo̞·nlɪ ˈjaː ˌspɒt
when I had to go and register, and I'll ... There was only one spot

aˈwɒntɪd təbiˈin | ən ˈðatwəz ɪtʔməˈɹiːnz | sə̤wɛnaˌwɛntˈduːn
I wanted to be in, and that was in the marines. So when I went down

təˈɹɛˌdʒe̞stə | aˈˈasthɪm ɪfðəwəzˌɒnɪ ˈtʃans | fəˈgitɪnˈin |
to register, I asked him if there was any chance for getting in.

ənˈblɔːk ˌðɛːɹ ɪˈse̞ztəˌmɪi ɪˈsɛz | ðəzˌo̞·nlɪ ˈtɑʊ ˈspɒts fɔ̈ˈjɑʊ |
And bloke there he says to me, he says, There's only two spots for you.

ɪˈsez | ˌðats ˈa̤ɪðə ɒtˈland | ɔɹˈɛls | ˈbi· əˈbɛvn̩ˌbɔɪ |
He says, That's either on the land, or else be a Bevin boy.

ˈðat wəzə | ˈkoəlˌma·ɪnə̯ɹ | sɪaˈstuk tɪtˈland | ˈðat wəz t̪adˈvaɪs
That was a coalminer. So I stuck to the land. That was the advice

ˈh̤i· ˌgaˈmɪi | äna ˈtɪu·kɪm ətɪzˈwɔd | ˌana·v | ˌnɪvə ˈdɪən ɒnɪ
he gave me. And I took him at his word. And I've never done any

ˈnæʃənəl ˈsəːvɪs ətˌɔːl |
national service at all.

Age-group Young

MA, born in 1946.

aˈkum ɪnðəˈʃɒp ɒnˈwɛnzdɪ ˈmɔ:nɪn təˈwə:k bɪˈkɒz
I come in the shop on Wednesday morning to work because

ɪtsmɪˈmuðəz| ˈʃi: ˈwə:ks ɪnðəˈʃɒp ˈt̪ɾu:ðəˈwi:k|
it's my mother's ... She works in the shop through the week,

änˈa: ɹɪˈli:vəɹɒnəˈwɛnzdï|bɪˈkɒz ɪts ˈha:f ˈdɛɪg̈|
and I relieve her on a Wednesday because it's half days.

aˈdʒəs ˌkumɪnðəˈmɔ:nɪn| ˈðɛn akəŋˈgɔ: təˈwə:k ɒnðɪˌaftəˈnu:n|
I just come in the morning. Then I can go to work on the afternoon.

aˈtɹav| ˌɹɑɷndðɪ ˈɛ:ɹɪəɹˌam ˈdʒɔɪnəɹən|ˈsɛlfɛmˈplɔɪd
I travel round the area, I'm joinering, self-employed.

ˌaɪ·ə|ˈwə:k ˌupðəˈdɛ:lg̈ ənˈdaɷnəg̈ˈfa:ɹəg̈ ˈwitbɪ| ɹɪˈpɛ:z| ˌnju: ˈwə:k|
I work up the dales, and down as far as Whitby. Repairs, new work,

jɔˈnɔ:s|ˌɔ:ltəˈɹɛ:ʃənʒtəˈhaɷzɪzənˈðat| ðəzəˈlɔtəˈwə:k
you knows, alterations to houses and that. There's a lot of work

əˈbɑɷt ˌði· ˈɛ:ɹɪə|ɹɪˈpɛ:zən|ˈθiŋz laɪk ˌðat| ˌwɛl|ˌðis ˈlast ˈjɪəˑɹ|
about the area, repairs and things like that. Well, this last year,

jɔˌmɛbɪˌnɔ:|jɔˈnɔ:|ˈguvənmənts ˌbi:n ˈgivɪŋˈgɹants|
you maybe know, you know, government's been giving grants.

ˈðats ˌsɔ:təv ˈi:zd ˌäpəˌlitˌ ˌnaᵒ| ðɛ̈ˈgɹants ˈstɒpt ˈdɹɒpt
That's sort of eased up a little now. Their grants stopped, dropped

fɹɔ̈m ˈsɛvn̩tɪˈfaɪv tɔˈfɪ| ðɛ ˈstil ˈgɛt əˈfiftɪ pəˌsɛnt ˈgɹant|
from seventy-five to fi ... They still get a fifty percent grant,

bətə|ðəˈfɔ:ksəˈstilˈkaɹɪɪnˌɒn ˈdu:ɪnðɪˌɔ·ltəˈɹɛ:ʃənʒ
but the folks are still carrying on doing the alterations

ˌdɛ̈əstðəˈsɛ:m| ɪts ˈdʒəst ðɛ̈ˈlu:zəˌlɪtˌ| ˈbitəvəˈbu:m|
just the same. It's just they lose a little. Bit of a boom

ˌwɛnðɛˈgɒt ðɪˈɛkstɹəˈkaʃt ˈaʊt əˈlɒŋðəˈwɛ:| jʊˈnǫ:
when they got the extra cashed out along the way. You know,

ðe̯ˈɛvn̩tˈstɒpt|ˈmɒdənaɪzɪnənˈðat| ðɛ̈ˈstɪl ˈkaɹɪɪn
they haven't stopped modernizing and that. They're still carrying

ˈɒnwɪðɪt| ɪts| ðəzəz ˈmutʃˈwə:k əzˈɛvə| jʊˈnǫ:
on with it. It's there's as much work as ever. You know,

jɔkŋˌget ˈsmɔ:ləˌgɹants|ˈwɪtʃ ðɛˈwǫ:nt ˈgivjəˌsǫˈmutʃbət|
you can get smaller grants, which they won't give you so much, but

təˈgetəˈfiftɪ| jɔvˈgɒt təˌaʊtˈdu: ˈɛvɹɪθiŋ|
to get a fifty, you've got to outdo everything.

ˈsɔtʃəlɪtlɪtˌˈɔ:ld ˈhaʊs laɪkˈðaʔwɒn ˌǫ:vəðəˈɹǫ:d| ɪfˈwi: ˈwɒn
Such a litt ... little old house like that one over the road. If we wan ...

ɪfˈðɛ: ˈwɒntɪdəˈfiftɪpəˌsɛntˈgɹantɒnˈðat|ðɛˈpɹɒbəblɪˌɛvtə
if they wanted a fifty percent grant on that, they probably have to

ˌputəˈnju: ˈɹu:fˈɒn|ˈnju: ˈwindǫ:zən|ˈdu: ðəˈflɔ:z̩nˈdamˌpɹu:fɪŋən
put a new roof on, new windows, and do the floors, and dampproofing, and

ˈɛvɹɪθiŋ| ðɛ̈ˈmust ˈdu:ðəˈlɒt| təˈgetəˈfiftɪpə pəˈsɛnt ˈgɹant ˈɒnɪt
everything. They must do the lot to get a fifty per ... percent grant on it.

ðɛˈka:ntdʒəs ˈdu: ˈsǫ:ˌmɒtʃ| ðəvˈgɒtəˈdu· ˈɐvɹɪθiŋ ðətˌði:|
They can't just do so much. They've got to do everything that the

ˈkaʊnsɪ̈ɬ ˈsɛz|
council says.[1]

[1]The tape-recordings are available in the Department of English at Göteborg University.

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WORD INDEX

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The dialect of Egton in North Yorkshire. By HANS TIDHOLM. Göteborg: Bokmaskinen, 1979. Pp. xi, 197.

AE 59, NUMBER 2 (1983)

T's exploration of the dialect of Egton, located in northeastern Yorkshire, is a fine example of a refinement of the kind of rural dialect study favored by the Institute of Dialect and Folk Life Studies at Leeds University. His original aim was 'to give a description of the "pure" dialect' (p. 10), but he altered this in favor of sampling among three age groups. Tokens were collected from five speakers aged 69–83, from four aged 50–66, and from six aged 15–33. The resulting study constitutes a detailed description of phonology (vowels in stressed syllables, vowels in unstressed syllables, and consonants); brief chapters are devoted to 'Morphology and syntax' and to 'Standard English influence'. An appendix contains a selection from the transcriptions.

The tape-recorded interviews (portions of which have been heard by this reviewer) are a mixture of formal and casual speech. Contrastive words of minimal pairs are used. Egton dialect is presented as a sub-dialect of the Northern area, characterized by six short vowels /i e a o u ə/, six long vowels /i: e: a: o: u: ɔ:/, diphthongs /ei ai oi iu au ou ea uə/, and 24 consonants (virtually identical with RP). It is clear that Egton is participating in the same gradual yielding to RP/StE influence that has long been noted both for the rest of Britain generally and for the rest of the county specifically.

T's analysis begins with an overview of the phonemes, giving their norm variants, other variants, and contrasts. He then traces the development of Northern Middle English vowels in stressed syllables, and of NME consonants. The basis for the diachronic treatment of the vowels is late (ca. 14th c.) NME. The only consonantal changes treated are those not found in StE; the basis for the historical development is usually NME. So far as variation is concerned, the most significant stratifying factors are occupation and sex (predictably, females have higher percentages of RP/StE tokens). Generally, though, all the evidence is seen as proof of a yielding to RP/StE forms. The brief chapter on morphology and syntax presents archaic forms (the definite article /t/), possibly archaic morphophonemic rules (the indefinite article /ə/ before vowels), and various non-standard forms of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, and verbs.

The implications of all this are examined in the final chapter on StE influence, where T presents historical evidence for the probable rate and cause of change in the direction of StE—hypothesizing that it began in the 16th c., resulting both from the introduction by seamen and waggoners of Southumbrian forms (like [ɔ:] < OE *ā* in words like *boat* and *road*) and from 'the mediation of Egton residents who had either been educated in the South (vicars) or been away from the parish (soldiers)' (150). Citing earlier authors who lamented what they saw as the 'decay of the old pure Yorkshire speech', T concludes that important 19th century factors were the influx into the area of miners, in the last quarter of the century, and the establishment of two schools in the 1870's. Finally, the decrease in farming, particularly after WWII, appears to have increased the number of people seeking jobs outside Egton, and hence a change in the direction of StE. Today StE appears to be what P. J. Trudgill calls a 'superposed variety' used by an increasingly heterogeneous population.

The characteristics of the dialect presented as most 'typical' (i.e. most distinct from RP) and most likely to resist change are these: /ə/ before /f θ s/ instead of /a:/ (e.g. in *pasture*); unconditional /u/ instead of /ʌ/ in *butter*; /iə/ instead of /ei/ in *dead, chain, break*; /uə/ instead of /əu/ in *road*; /uə/ instead of /əu/ in *toast*; /iə/ or /a/ instead of /u:/, /u/, or /ʌ/ in *do, foot, done, good, mother*; /e:/ instead of /ei/ in *day*; /-(1)in/ instead of /-(1)iŋ/; /h/-lessness in *house*; and /-n/, /-nC-/ instead of /-nd/, /-ndC-/ in *hand(ful)*. Some trends are discernible in the patterns of sound change, though T offers no analysis. The overall movements seem to be in the direction of lowering and fronting. T has no plans to continue his analysis of these materials, though he has announced his intention to complete a study of Egton Christian names (1500–1980). [BETHANY K. DUMAS, *University of Tennessee*.]

Bokmaskinen i Göteborg